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AGE

OF

LEWIS XIV.

Translated from the FRENCH of

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publiſhers of this edition of the Age of Lewis XIV. wrote by the celebrated M. de VOLTAIRE, have ſpared no pains to render it as correct as poſſible; and, in order to give the true meaning of the author, the beſt editions of the original French have been made uſe of, and, where difficulties occurred, perſons moſt knowing in that language conſulted. Some hundreds of miſtakes in the London editions are here rectified, and, in many places, whole paragraphs ſupplied, which in them are intirely omitted: and though the publiſhers cannot pretend to ſay that this edition is quite free from

miſtakes; yet it is hoped there are but few; and if any ſuch occur, that the reader will excuſe them. Theſe conſiderations, together with its being ſold at a much more moderate price, it is expected, will recommend it to the favour of the public.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE manuſcript of this work having been put into my hands by the author, I read it with very great attention: I obſerved in it an extreme love of truth, and a perfect impartiality in regard to all the affairs related in it. Theſe, principally, were the reaſons which made me conſider it as my duty to print it, under the auſpicious protection of a monarch, to whom truth is not leſs dear than glory; and who, with the general conſent of all Europe, is equally capable to inſtruct mankind, aud to judge of their works.

I thought ſuch an edition as this would be preferable to one larger, and more pompous: and I dare affirm, that theſe

two volumes contain more intereſting facts, and curious anecdotes, than are in any of the immenſe collections which have hitherto been publiſhed upon the reign of Lewis XIV.

And though the concluſion of this work contains ſuch things as have been done by Lewis XV. and though more than one eſtabliſhment of Lewis XIV. has been perfected by his ſucceſſor, it appeared, nevertheleſs, that the title of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV. ſhould ſtill continue; not only becauſe it was the hiſtory of about eighty years, but becauſe moſt of the great changes related in it were begun under this reign.

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THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR intention in this work is not merely to write the life of Lewis XIV; the deſign is more extenſive. We would endeavour to repreſent to poſterity, not the actions of a ſingle man only, but the genius of an age, of all others the moſt enlightened.

Every age hath produced heroes and politicians: all nations have ſuffered revolutions; and all hiſtories are equally entertaining to him who wants to treaſure up in his mind facts only. But whoever reflects, and, what is more uncommon, whoever has a taſte, will reckon only four ages in the hiſtory of the world. The four happy ages are thoſe wherein the arts were perfected, and which, ſerving as an aera of the greatneſs of the human mind, are a pattern to all poſterity.

The firſt of theſe ages, to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander; or of Pericles, Demoſthenes, Ariſtotle, Plato, Apelles,

Phidias, and Praxiteles; and this honour was confined to Greece: the reſt of the world was uncivilized.

The ſecond age is that of Caeſar and Auguſtus; which is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. At that time a family of plain citizens appeared in Italy, who did ſuch things as ſhould have been undertaken by the kings of Europe: the Medici drew to Florence the arts, which the Turks drove out of Greece. This was the period in which the glory of Italy ſhone brighteſt. All the ſciences reſumed new life. The Italians honoured them with the name of *Vertu*, as the firſt Greeks had characterized them with that of *Wiſdom*. Every thing tended towards perfection. The Michael Angelos, the Raphaels, the Titians, the Taſſos, and the Arioſtos, flouriſhed. Engraving was invented, beautiful architecture appeared again, even more admirable than in Rome when in its greateſt glory: and Gothic barbarity, which in all things had disfigured Europe, was driven quite out of Italy, to give place to good taſte.

The arts, continuing to be tranſplanted from Greece into Italy, found themſelves in a favourable ſoil, where they grew and improved very faſt. France, England, Germany, and Spain, were deſirous in their turns to taſte of theſe fruits; but they either never came into theſe climates, or degenerated ſoon after.

Francis the firſt indeed encouraged men of learning, but they were [illegible] of learning only: he had ſome architects and [illegible] but he had neither Mi-

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chael Angelos nor Palladios. He endeavoured in vain to eſtabliſh ſchools of painting; for the Italian painters, whom he called, trained up no French ſcholars under them. Some epigrams, and a few looſe tales, made up the whole of our poeſy, and Rabelais was our only faſhionable author in proſe under the reign of Henry the ſecond.

In a word, the Italians had every thing, except muſic, which was then very imperfect; and experimental philoſophy, which was every-where equally unknown.

Finally, the fourth is that which is called The age of Lewis XIV. and it is, perhaps, of the four, that which approaches the neareſt to perfection. Being enriched with the diſcoveries of the preceding ages, it made a greater progreſs in ſome things than the three others together. Indeed, all the arts were never carried to a greater degree of perfection than under the ages of the Medici's, the Auguſtus's, and the Alexander's: but human reaſon, in general, was in this brought nearer to perfection. Sound philoſophy was diſcovered only in this age: and it may with truth be ſaid, that, from the laſt years of cardinal Richlieu to thoſe that followed the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a general revolution, not only in our government, but in our arts, minds, and manners; which ought to be an eternal epocha of the true glory of our country. And this happy influence was not confined to France, but extended into England, where it excited the emulation which that ſenſible and thinking nation then wanted. It carried taſte into Germany, and the ſciences into Muſcovy; it even re-animated the languiſhing ſtate

of Italy; and Europe, in general, owes its politeneſs to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time, the Italians called all thoſe nations on the other ſide of the Alps by the name of barbarians; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the French, in ſome degree merited this reproachful appellation. Our anceſtors, to the romantic gallantry of the Moors, joined the rude barbarity of the Goths: they knew ſcarce any of the amiable arts; and this proves, that the uſeful ones were likewiſe neglected: for when thoſe, which are neceſſary, are once brought to a degree of perfection, the beautiful and the agreeable ſoon ſucceed; and it is not ſurpriſing, that poetry, painting, ſculpture, eloquence, and philoſophy, were almoſt intirely unknown to a nation, which, though it had ports upon the ocean and the Mediterranean, was nevertheleſs deſtitute of ſhips; and which, though luxurious to exceſs, was poſſeſſed only of a few of the moſt ordinary manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoeſe, the Venetians, the Portugueſe, the Flemings, the Hollanders, and the Engliſh, by turns carried on our commerce, of which we knew not the principles. Lewis XIII. at his acceſſion to the crown, had not a ſingle ſhip; Paris did not contain 400,000 men, and was not ornamented with four tolerable edifices. The other towns of the kingdom reſembled thoſe which are now on the other ſide of the Loire. All the gentry and nobility, being cantoned up and down the country, in caſtles ſurrounded with moats, oppreſſed thoſe who cultivated the lands. The great roads were almoſt impaſſable; the towns were without laws, the

ſtate without money, and the government almoſt conſtantly deſtitute of credit among foreign nations.

It muſt be confeſſed, that, from the declenſion of the family of Charlemagne, France languiſhed more or leſs under this weakneſs, becauſe it ſcarce ever enjoyed the happineſs of a good government.

To make a ſtate powerful, the people ſhould either have a liberty founded upon the laws, or the regal authority ſhould be eſtabliſhed without controul.

In France, the people were ſlaves till about the time of Philip Auguſtus; the lords were tyrants till the reign of Lewis XI; and the kings, conſtantly engaged in maintaining their authority againſt their vaſſals, had neither leiſure to think about the good of their ſubjects, nor power to make them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal in favour of the royal authority, but nothing for the happineſs and glory of his people.

Francis I. encouraged commerce, navigation, letters, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to be able to make them take root in France; and they all periſhed with him.

Henry the great was meditating the means to free France from thoſe calamities, and that barbarity in which it had been plunged by thirty years diſcord; when he was aſſaſſinated in his capital, in the midſt of the people whoſe happineſs he was conſulting.

Cardinal Richlieu, being employed in humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and the great lords, and in preventing the increaſe of Calviniſm, was too much

engaged in theſe affairs, to reform the nation; however he at leaſt began this happy work.

Thus for the ſpace of nine hundred years, our genius has been almoſt always obſcured under a Gothic government, in the midſt of diviſions and civil wars: we had neither laws nor cuſtoms that were fixed: the language changed almoſt every century, and yet always continued barbarous: the nobles were without diſcipline, always in a ſtate of war or idleneſs, and unſkilled in every other thing: the eccleſiaſtics lived in diſorder and ignorance; and the people, being without induſtry, were poor and miſerable.

And this diſcovers the reaſon why the French had no ſhare either in the great diſcoveries, or the admirable inventions of other nations; printing, gun-powder, glaſs, teleſcopes, the compaſs, the air-pump, the true ſyſtem of the univerſe; theſe were diſcoveries none of which were made by them. They paſſed their time in tournaments, while the Portugueſe and Spaniards were diſcovering and conquering new regions both to the eaſt and weſt of the known world. Charles the fifth had begun to laviſh the treaſures of Mexico, in Europe, before the ſubjects of Francis the firſt had diſcovered the uncultivated country of Canada: but even by the little which the French did in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we may perceive how much they are capable of, when properly conducted.

In this hiſtory, it is deſigned to ſhew them as they were under Lewis XIV; and may the deſcendents of this monarch, and thoſe of his people, being equally animated with a happy and glorious emulation, endeavour to ſurpaſs their anceſtors!

No one muſt expect to find here the almoſt endleſs accounts of wars undertaken in this age. We are obliged to leave to the annaliſts, the care of collecting with accuracy all theſe little facts, which would only ſerve to divert our attention from the principal object. Is is their buſineſs to relate the marches and countermarches of armies, the days when the trenches were opened before towns, when they were taken and retaken by arms, and when they were ſurrendered and given up by treaties. A thouſand circumſtances, which were intereſting to cotemporaries, diſappear, and are loſt to the eyes of poſterity, and only thoſe great events are brought into view, which have determined the fate of empires. Every thing that is done does not deſerve to be recorded. We ſhall confine ourſelves therefore, in this hiſtory, only to what merits the attention of all ages, to what may deſcribe the genius and manners of men, to what may ſerve for inſtruction, and to enforce the love of virtue, the arts, and our country.

We ſhall endeavour to ſhew the ſtate of France, and the other nations of Europe, before the birth of Lewis XIV; after which we ſhall relate the great, political, and military events in his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, which is of the greateſt conſequence to the people, ſhall be treated ſeparately. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particularities of his court and reign, will make a conſiderable part. We ſhall alſo have other articles for the arts, the ſciences, and the progreſs of the human underſtanding in this age. Finally, we ſhall ſay ſomething concerning the church, which has been ſo long united with the govern-

ment, which ſometimes weakens, and ſometimes ſtrengthens it; and which, though inſtituted to teach religion and morality, often gives itſelf up to politics, and human paſſions.

Of the States of EUROPE before Lewis XIV.

THE Chriſtian part of Europe (excepting Muſcovy) had long been in ſuch a ſituation, that it might be conſidered as one great republic, divided into ſeveral ſtates, ſome monarchical, and others mixed; ſome ariſtocratical, others popular; but all correſponding with one another: all having the ſame foundation for their religion, though divided into ſeveral ſects; and all having the ſame principles of political and natural law, unknown in the other parts of the world. It is upon theſe principles, that the European nations never make their priſoners ſlaves; that they reſpect the embaſſadors of their enemies; that they are agreed touching the pre-eminence and particular rights of certain princes, as the emperor, the kings, and other inferior potentates; and that more eſpecially, they are unanimous in regard to the wiſe policy obſerved in preſerving, as near as poſſible, an equal balance of power; inceſſantly employing negotiations, even in the midſt of war, and reciprocally maintaining embaſſadors, or leſs honourable ſpies, in their ſeveral courts, who may warn all the others of the deſigns of any one, give at once the alarm to Europe, and preſerve the weaker

from thoſe invaſions which the ſtronger are always ready to make.

After the death of Charles the fifth, the balance inclined too much in favour of the houſe of Auſtria. This puiſſant houſe, towards the end of the year 1630. was miſtreſs of Spain, Portugal, and the treaſures of America; the Low-Countries, the Milaneſe, the kingdom of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany (if we may be permitted to ſay ſo), were become her patrimony; and, if all theſe ſtates had been united under one head of this houſe, it is probable all Europe would at laſt have been ſubjected to it.

Of GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the moſt powerful neighbour of France: it is nearly of the ſame extent, leſs rich perhaps in money, but more abounding in a people robuſt, and patient of labour. The German nation, in a great meaſure, is governed as France was under the firſt Capetian kings, who were chiefs, frequently but ill obeyed by ſeveral of their great vaſſals, and even by ſome of their leſſer ones. At this day, ſixty free cities, which are called imperial, about the ſame number of ſecular ſovereigns, near forty eccleſiaſtical princes, either biſhops or abbots, nine electors, in which are included three kings, and, finally, the emperor, who is the head of all theſe potentates, compoſe this vaſt Germanic body, which, through the national phlegm, ſubſiſts almoſt with as much order, as there was formerly of confuſion in the government of France.

Every member of the empire has his rights, his

privileges, and his obligations; and the difficult knowlege of ſo many laws, which are frequently conteſted, makes, what they call in Germany, *the ſtudy of the laws of nations*, for which they are ſo celebrated.

The emperor himſelf, would not, as emperor, be much more powerful, or more rich, than a doge of Venice. Germany, being divided into free cities and principalities, leaves to the chief of all theſe ſtates only the pre-eminence, with very great honours indeed, but without dominions, or money; and, conſequently, without power. By the title of emperor he does not poſſeſs a ſingle village: the city of Bamberg alone is aſſigned for his reſidence, when he has no other. Nevertheleſs, this dignity, altogether as vain as it is ſupreme, was become ſo powerful in the hands of the Auſtrians, that it was often feared they would convert this republic of princes into an abſolute monarchy.

Two parties at that time divided, and at this day do ſtill divide, Europe, and more particularly Germany. The firſt is that of the Catholics, ſubjected more or leſs to the pope; the ſecond is that of the enemies of the ſpiritual and temporal power of the pope, and the catholic prelates. Thoſe of this laſt party are called by the general name of Proteſtants, though they are divided into Lutherans, Calviniſts, and others, who hate one another almoſt as much as they hate Rome.

In Germany, the Lutheran religion, which they call Evangelical, is profeſſed in Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, part of Bohemia, Hungary, the ſtates of the houſe of Brunſwick, and Wirtemberg. All the free imperial cities have embraced this ſect, which

was conſidered as more ſuitable than the catholic religion to people jealous of their liberties.

The Calviniſts, being diſperſed among the Lutherans, who are the moſt numerous, make only an inconſiderable body: the Catholics compoſe the reſt of the empire; and, having at their head the houſe of Auſtria, they were undoubtedly the moſt powerful.

Not only Germany, but all the Chriſtian ſtates, ſtill bled at the wounds which they had received in theſe religious wars; a madneſs peculiar to Chriſtians, but to which idolaters are ſtrangers; and is the unhappy conſequence of that dogmatical ſpirit which has ſo long been introduced into all parties. There are few points of controverſy which have not been the cauſe of a civil war; and foreign nations (perhaps our own poſterity) will one day be unable to comprehend how it was poſſible, that our forefathers could kill one another for ſo many years together, and yet, at the ſame time, be preaching patience.

In 1619. the emperor Matthias dying without children, the Proteſtant party exerted itſelf to deprive the houſe of Auſtria of the imperial dignity, and prevent it from deſcending upon any of the Roman communion: but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, the couſin of Matthias, was nevertheleſs elected emperor. He was before king of Bohemia and Hungary, by the abdication of Matthias, and by the forced choice which the people of theſe two kingdoms made of him.

This Ferdinand II. continued to perſecute and weaken the Proteſtant party. He was, for ſome time, the moſt powerful and the moſt happy mo-

march in Chriſtendom; not ſo much by his own merit, as by the ſucceſs of his two great generals, Walſtein and Tilly; for he followed the example of many of the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, who were conquerors, without being warriors, and were happy through the merit of thoſe whom they employed. His power had long menaced both the Proteſtants and Catholics with ſlavery: the alarm was ſpread even as far as Rome, over which this title of emperor, and king of the Romans, gives chimerical rights, which the leaſt occaſion may render but too real. Rome, which, on its ſide, anciently pretended to a ſtill more chimerical right over the empire, at this time united with France againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The money of France, the intrigues of Rome, and the complaints of all the Proteſtants, at laſt drew out of the heart of Sweden Guſtavus Adolphus, the only king of that time who could pretend to the name of hero, and the only one who was able to humble the Auſtrian power.

The arrival of Guſtavus in Germany changed the face of Europe. In 1631. he defeated general Tilly in the battle of Leipſick, ſo celebrated for the new methods of war which this king put in practice, and which are ſtill conſidered as ſome of the maſter-pieces in the military art.

The emperor Ferdinand, in 1632. was on the point of loſing Bohemia, Hungary, and the empire; but he was ſaved by his good fortune: Guſtavus Adolphus was killed at the battle of Lutzen, in the midſt of his victory; and the death of this ſingle man re-eſtabliſhed what this ſingle man could alone have deſtroyed.

The policy of the houſe of Auſtria, which had ſunk under the arms of Adolphus, found itſelf ſuperior to every thing elſe. It detached the moſt powerful princes of the empire from the alliance with Sweden: and theſe victorious troops, being abandoned by their allies, and deprived of their king, were defeated at Norlingen; and though they were afterwards more ſucceſsful, yet they were always leſs to be feared than under Guſtavus.

Ferdinand II. dying in this conjuncture of affairs, left all his dominions to his ſon Ferdinand III. who inherited his policy, and, like him, carried on the war in his cabinet. He reigned during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not at that time ſo flouriſhing as it is become ſince: luxury was unknown in it, and the conveniencies of life were yet very rare among the greateſt lords. They were not introduced till towards the end of 1686. by the French refugees, who fled thither, and eſtabliſhed their manufactories. This fertile and populous country was deſtitute both of commerce and money: the gravity of manners, and the ſlowneſs natural to the Germans, deprived them of thoſe pleaſures and agreeable arts, which the Italian ſagacity had cultivated for ſo many years, and which the French induſtry, from that time, began to bring to perfection. The Germans, rich within themſelves, were poor abroad: and this poverty, joined to the difficulty of ſuddenly re-uniting ſo many different people under the ſame ſtandards, laid them almoſt, as at this day, under an impoſſibility of carrying and maintaining a war among their neighbours for any length of time.

And it has therefore been almoſt always in the empire, that the French have made war againſt the empire. The difference of genius and government renders the French more proper for an attack, and the Germans for a defence.

Of Spain.

THE Spaniards, being governed by the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Auſtria, after the death of Charles the fifth, had ſpread more terror than the Germans. The kings of Spain were incomparably more rich and abſolute. The mines of Mexico and Potoſi ſeemed to furniſh them wherewith to purchaſe the liberties of Europe. The project of univerſal monarchy over the Chriſtian world, which had been formed by Charles the fifth, was immediately adopted by Philip II. who, immured in the Eſcurial, yet, by negotiations, and by war, endeavoured the ſubjection of Chriſtendom. He invaded Portugal, ravaged France, and menaced England. But being, perhaps, fitter to traffic for ſlaves at a diſtance, than to combat his enemies in perſon, he added no conqueſt to the eaſy invaſion of Portugal: he voluntarily ſacrificed fifteen hundred millions, which make near three thouſand millions of our preſent money, to ſubject France, and regain Holland: but his treaſures only ſerved to enrich the countries he was deſirous to ſubdue.

Philip III. his ſon, being ſtill leſs martial and leſs wiſe than his father, had but few of the virtues requiſite in a king. Superſtition, the vice of weak minds, tarniſhed his reign, and enfeebled the Spaniſh monarchy. His kingdom began to be depo-

pulated by the numerous colonies, which avarice tranſplanted into the new world; and it was in theſe circumſtances, that he drove out of his kingdom near eight hundred thouſand Moors, though, on the contrary, he ought rather to have invited more to come into it, if it is true that the number of ſubjects conſtitutes the wealth and ſtrength of monarchs. Spain after this, became almoſt a deſert: the indolence and pride of the inhabitants ſuffered the riches of the new world to paſs into other hands: the gold of Peru became the property of all the merchants of Europe: and it is in vain that other nations are prohibited enterance into the ports of Spaniſh America by ſevere laws; for the factors of France, England, and Italy, load the galleons with their own merchandizes, enjoy the chief profits ariſing therefrom, and for them, Mexico and Peru have been conquered.

The Spaniſh greatneſs under Philip III. was therefore nothing more than a vaſt body without life or ſubſtance, whoſe reputation was much greater than its ſtrength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakneſs, loſt Portugal by his own negligence, Rouſſillon by the weakneſs of his arms, and Catalonia by the abuſe of deſpotiſm. It was this king, to whom the count duke d'Olivares, his favourite and his miniſter, gave the name of Great, at his acceſſion to the crown, perhaps with deſign to excite him to deſerve that title: of which, however, he was ſo unworthy, that, though he was king, no one ever gave it him. Such kings could not long be ſucceſsful in their wars againſt France. And if our divi-

ſions and miſtakes gave them ſome advantages, they loſt the fruits of them by their incapacity. Beſides, they commanded a people, who, by their privileges, aſſumed a right to ſerve them ill. The Caſtillians had the prerogative of not ſerving in the wars out of their own country; the Arragonians were perpetually diſputing their liberty againſt the royal council; and the Catalans, who conſidered their kings as their enemies, did not even permit them to raiſe forces in their provinces. Thus this fine kingdom had then but very little power abroad, and was miſerable at home. The gifts of nature in theſe happy climates were ſeconded by no induſtry. Neither the ſilks of Valentia, nor the fine cloths of Andaluſia and Caſtille, were manufactured by the hands of Spaniards. Fine linens were a luxury but very little known. The manufactories of Flanders, the monumental remains of the houſe of Burgundy, furniſhed Madrid with every thing they then knew of magnificence. Stuffs of gold and ſilver were prohibited in this monarchy, as they would have been in an indigent republic that feared being impoveriſhed. In reality, notwithſtanding the mines of the new world, Spain was ſo poor, that the miniſtry of Philip IV. were reduced to the neceſſity of coining braſs money, on which a value was ſet almoſt as great as upon ſilver. It became neceſſary for the maſter of Mexico and Peru to make falſe money, to defray the expences of the ſtate: for if the ſage Gourville may be credited, they dared not to impoſe perſonal taxes, becauſe neither the citizens nor the people of the country, as they had ſcarce any effects, could have been made to pay. Such was the ſtate of Spain; yet neverthe-

leſs, being reunited with the empire, it put a conſiderable weight into the balance of Europe.

Of PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL had juſt at that time again become an independent kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who paſſed for a weak prince, had forced this province out of the hands of a king weaker than himſelf: and the Portugueſe, through neceſſity, cultivated that commerce which the Spaniards neglected through pride. In 1641. they leagued with France and Holland againſt Spain. This revolution of Portugal was of greater advantage to France than the moſt ſignal victories could have been; and the French miniſtry, which had contributed in nothing to this event, did, without difficulty, obtain the greateſt advantage that can be gained over an opponent, which is that of beholding him attacked by an irreconcileable enemy.

Portugal, ſhaking off the yoke of Spain, extending its commerce, and increaſing its power, naturally brings into our mind the idea of Holland, which enjoyed the ſame advantages in a very different manner.

Of HOLLAND.

THIS little ſtate of Seven united provinces, barren, unhealthy, and almoſt overwhelmed by the ſea, was, for about half a century, almoſt the only example upon earth of what may be effected by the love of liberty, and an indefatigable induſtry.

Theſe poor people, far from being numerous, much leſs martial than the worſt of the Spaniſh forces, and who as yet were of no conſideration in Europe, reſiſted the whole force of their maſter and tyrant Philip II. eluded the deſigns of ſeveral princes, who would have aſſiſted them with a view to ſubject them, and laid the foundations of a power, which has ſince been ſeen to balance that of Spain itſelf. The deſpair, which is inſpired by tyranny, armed them at firſt; liberty raiſed their courage; the princes of the houſe of Orange made them excellent ſoldiers; and ſcarce had they become the conquerors of their maſters, when they eſtabliſhed a form of government, which preſerves, as much as poſſible, that equality, which is the natural right of mankind.

The mildneſs of this government, and the toleration of all ſects of religion, dangerous perhaps in other ſtates, but neceſſary here, peopled Holland with vaſt numbers of foreigners, eſpecially Walloons, whom the inquiſition perſecuted in their own country, and who from ſlaves, by this change, became free citizens.

The doctrines of Calvin, prevailing in Holland, ſerved ſtill more to increaſe its power. This country, which was then ſo poor, would not have been able either to ſupport the grandeur of prelates, or to maintain religious orders; neither could a nation, which was in want of inhabitants, admit thoſe to live among them, who ſhould engage themſelves by oath, as far as was in their power, to ſuffer the human ſpecies to periſh. They had before them the example of England, which, after the eccleſiaſtics were permitted to enjoy the ſweets of marriage,

and the hopes of families were no longer buried in the celibacy of a cloiſter, had become more populous by one-third.

While the Hollanders, ſword in hand, eſtabliſhed their new government, they ſupported it by commerce. They went to the fartheſt parts of Aſia, there to attack their maſters, who then enjoyed the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe; and they took from them thoſe iſlands where the choiceſt ſpices are produced; which are as real treaſures as thoſe of Peru, and the cultivation of which is as conducive to the health of mankind, as the working of the mines is detrimental to it.

The Eaſt-India company, eſtabliſhed in 1602. gained, in 1620. near three hundred per cent. which gain increaſed every year; ſo that this ſociety of merchants, ſoon becoming a formidable power, built the city of Batavia in the iſle of Java, made it the moſt beautiful in all Aſia, and the centre of commerce, wherein reſide five thouſand Chineſe, and to which all the nations of the world repair. The company in this city can arm thirty ſhips of war, of forty guns, and at leaſt 20,000 men. A common merchant, when governor of this colony, appears here with all the pomp of the greateſt king; nor does this Aſiatic grandeur corrupt the frugal ſimplicity of the Hollanders in Europe. This commerce, and this frugality, conſtituted the grandeur of the Seven provinces.

Antwerp, which had ſo long been in a flouriſhing ſtate, and which had ſwallowed up the commerce of Venice, now became a mere deſert; and Amſterdam, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of its port, grew, in its turn, the magazine of the world.

All Holland was enriched, and rendered beautiful, by immenſe labours. The waters of the ſea were confined by double banks. Canals, cut in all the towns, were faced with ſtone; the ſtreets became large quays, ornamented with fine trees; and barks, laden with merchandizes, came to the doors of the inhabitants; ſo that now foreigners are always ſtruck with admiration at this ſingular mixture, formed by the houſes, the tops of the trees, and the ſtreamers of the ſhips, which at once, and in the ſame place, exhibit a view of the city, the country and the ſea.

This ſtate, of ſo new a kind, was, from its foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by intereſt; they had the ſame enemies; and Henry the Great and Lewis XIII. have been its allies, and its protectors.

Of England.

ENGLAND, being much more powerful, affected the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and pretended to hold the balance between the powers of Europe: but Charles I. who aſcended the throne in 1625. was ſo far from being able to ſupport the weight of this balance, that he found the preſervation of his own crown difficult and precarious. He ſhewed himſelf deſirous to render his power in England independent of the laws, and to change the religion in Scotland. He was too obſtinate to deſiſt from theſe deſigns, and too weak to execute them. He was a good huſband, a good maſter, a good father, and an honeſt man; but he was an an ill-adviſed king; and engaged himſelf in a civil war, which at laſt deprived him of his crown, together with his life,

upon a ſcaffold, by a revolution that was almoſt unparalleled.

This civil war, which was commenced in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England, for a time, from concerning itſelf with the affairs of its neighbours. She loſt her weight together with her good fortune; her commerce was interrupted, and ſhe was regarded by the other nations of Europe as buried under her own ruins, till the time when ſhe, on a ſudden, became more formidable than ever, under the dominion of Cromwell, who ſubjected her, by bearing the ſcriptures in one hand, the ſword in the other, and the maſk of religion upon his countenance; and who, in his government, under the qualities of a great king, covered all the crimes of an uſurper.

Of Rome.

THAT balance which England had long flattered herſelf ſhe maintained between the ſovereigns of Europe by her power, the court of Rome attempted to hold by her policy. Italy was divided, as at this day, into ſeveral ſovereignties. What the pope poſſeſſes, is conſiderable enough to render him reſpected as a prince; but not ſufficiently ſo to make him formidable. The nature of his government does not increaſe the people of his territories, who, beſides, have but little money or commerce: his ſpiritual authority, in which there is always ſome ſhare of temporal, is deſpiſed and rejected among one half of the Chriſtian powers; and if, in the other, he is regarded as a father, yet his children have ſometimes reaſon to oppoſe him, and frequently do

it with ſucceſs. The maxim of France is to regard him as a ſacred, but enterpriſing perſon, whoſe toe it is neceſſary to kiſs, but whoſe hands it is ſometimes proper to bind. In all the catholic countries, the ſteps may ſtill be ſeen which the court of Rome has formerly taken towards univerſal monarchy. All the princes of the Catholic religion, at their acceſſion, ſend *embaſſies of obedience*, as they are called, to the pope. Each crown has in Rome a cardinal, who aſſumes the title of protector. The pope grants bulls for all biſhoprics, and therein expreſſes himſelf, as though he conferred theſe dignities by his ſole power. All the Italian, Spaniſh, Flemiſh, and even ſome French biſhops are ſo called, by the divine permiſſion, and that of the holy ſee. There is no kingdom wherein there are not many benefices in his nomination; and he receives the firſt year's revenues of the conſiſtorial benefices, as a tribute.

The religious orders, whoſe chiefs reſide at Rome, are likewiſe ſo many immediate ſubjects to the popes, diſperſed in every ſtate. Cuſtom, which does every thing, and which is the cauſe that the world is governed by abuſes, as well as by laws, has not always permitted princes intirely to remedy theſe abuſes, which, in other reſpects, have a connection with things uſeful and ſacred. To take an oath to any other than one's lawful ſovereign, is conſidered as high-treaſon among the laity, and yet in a cloiſter it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing how far one ought to obey this foreign ſovereign, the eaſineſs of being ſeduced, the pleaſure of ſhaking off a natural yoke to put on another, which we take voluntarily upon ourſelves, the ſpirit of com-

tention, and the unhappineſs of the times, have but too often engaged whole orders of religious in the ſervice of Rome againſt their country.

The enlightened ſpirit which has reigned in France for more than a century paſt, and which is diſperſed among all ranks and conditions, has proved the beſt remedy of this abuſe. Good books, written upon this ſubject, are real ſervices done both to the kings and people; and one of the great changes, which by this means has been made in our manners, under Lewis XIV. is the perſuaſion which all the religious orders begin to entertain, that they are ſubjects to the king, rather than ſervants to the pope. Nevertheleſs, juriſdiction, that eſſential mark of ſovereignty, ſtill continues with the Roman pontiff: and France herſelf, notwithſtanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, permits appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes to be finally made to the pope.

If a perſon would annul his marriage, eſpouſe his couſin or his niece, or be abſolved from his vows, it is to Rome, and not to his biſhop, that he muſt addreſs himſelf. Services of this kind are taxed there, and private perſons of all nations purchaſe diſpenſations at all prices.

Theſe privileges, which are regarded by ſome perſons as having been obtained by the greateſt abuſes, and, by others, as being the remains of the moſt ſacred rights, are conſtantly maintained by art. Rome preſerves its credit with as much policy, as was ever ſhewn by the old Roman republic in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever better underſtood how to behave according to perſons and times. The popes are almoſt always Italians, perfectly well ſkilled in af-

ſairs, without being blinded by their paſſions: their council is compoſed of cardinals, who reſemble them, and who are all animated with the ſame ſpirit. From this council are iſſued thoſe orders which extend even to China and America; ſo that, in this ſenſe, it preſides over the univerſe; and one may ſay of it what a ſtranger formerly ſaid of the ſenate of Rome, *I have ſeen a conſiſtory of kings.* Moſt of our writers have, with reaſon, exclaimed againſt the ambition of this court: but I do not find one who has done ſufficient juſtice to her prudence. I am in doubt whether any other nation could, for ſo long a courſe of time, have preſerved in Europe ſo many prerogatives, which have always been oppoſed and conteſted. Any other nation would perhaps have loſt them, either by its pride or weakneſs, by its ſlowneſs or vivacity: but Rome, having almoſt continually behaved with a proper firmneſs or compliance, has preſerved every thing which there was a poſſibility of preſerving. She was rampant under Charles the fifth, terrible to our Henry III. an enemy and a friend by turns to Henry IV. artful towards Lewis XIII. openly oppoſed to Lewis XIV. at the time when he was moſt to be feared, and frequently a ſecret enemy to the emperors, of whom ſhe was more diffident than of the ſultan of the Turks.

A few rights, many pretenſions, policy, and patience, are all that now remain to Rome of that ancient power, which, ſix centuries before, was forming deſigns to ſubject the empire, and all Europe to the triple crown.

Naples is a teſtimony which ſtill ſubſiſts of that right which the popes formerly with ſo much art

and grandeur assumed, in creating and bestowing kingdoms. But the king of Spain, who is now the possessor of this state, hath left the court of Rome only the honour and the danger of having a too powerful vassal.

Of the rest of ITALY.

IN other respects, the pope's territories enjoyed a happy tranquillity; which had been interrupted only by an inconsiderable war between the Barbarini cardinals, nephews of pope Urban VIII; and the duke of Parma; and this was neither bloody nor of long duration, but was such as might be expected among these modern Romans, whose manners must necessarily be comformable to the nature of their government. Cardinal Barbarini, the author of these troubles, marched with indulgences at the head of his little army. The greatest battle that was fought, was between four or five hundred men of each party. The fortress of Piegaia, as soon as the artillery approached, which consisted only of two culverins, surrendered at discretion. Nevertheless, more negotiations were necessary to put an end to these troubles, which scarce deserve to be mentioned in history, than if ancient Rome and Carthage had been concerned in them. This event is mentioned here only to shew the genius of modern Rome, which concludes every thing by negotiation, contrary to ancient Rome, which decided all by the sword.

The other provinces of Italy were influenced by various interests. Venice feared the Turks and the

emperor: ſhe with difficulty defended her territories on the Terra firma, againſt the pretenſions of Germany, and the invaſions of the Grand Seignor. She was now no longer *that* ancient Venice, miſtreſs of the commerce of the world, who an hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealouſy of ſo many kings. The wiſdom of her government ſubſiſted; but the loſs of her immenſe commerce had almoſt deprived her of all force; and the city of Venice, by its ſituation, was incapable of being ſubdued, and, by its weakneſs, unable to make conqueſts.

The ſtate of Florence, under the government of the Medici's, enjoyed tranquillity and abundance: letters, arts, and politeneſs, which the Medici's had introduced, ſtill flouriſhed; and Tuſcany was then in Italy, what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, torn by a civil war, and by the French and Spaniſh troops, had at laſt re-united intirely in favour of France, and contributed in Italy to a diminution of the Auſtrian power.

The Switzers, as at this day, preſerved their liberty, without attempting the oppreſſion of any. They ſold their troops to their more rich neighbours. They were themſelves poor, ignorant of the ſciences, and of all the arts which luxury introduces; but they were wiſe and happy.

Of the States of the NORTH.

THE northern nations of Europe, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muſcovy, were like the other powers, always in a ſtate of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, or at open war with one another. In Poland, as at this day, the manners and government

of the Goths and Franks prevailed; an elective king, a nobility that divided his power, a people in ſlavery, a weak infantry, a cavalry compoſed of the nobles, no fortified towns, and ſcarce any commerce. This nation was ſometimes attacked by the Swedes or Muſcovites, and ſometimes by the Turks. The Swedes, who, by their conſtitution, enjoy greater liberty than the Poles, admitting even the peaſants into the general aſſembly of the ſtates, being, however, at this time, more ſubjected to their kings than Poland, were almoſt always victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been formidable to the Swedes, was then no longer ſo to any nation. As to Muſcovy, it could be conſidered only as a nation of mere barbarians.

Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not what they had been under the Selims, the Mahomets, and the Solimans: luxury and effeminacy had corrupted the ſeraglio, without baniſhing cruelty from it; and the ſultans, though the moſt deſpotic of ſovereigns, were the leaſt ſecure of their thrones, and their lives. Oſmin and Ibrahim had been ſtrangled; Muſtapha had been twice depoſed; and the Turkiſh empire, ſhaken by theſe revolutions, was alſo attacked by the Perſians; but when they gave it time to take breath, and the revolutions in the ſeraglio were ſubſided, this empire again became formidable to Chriſtendom; for, from the mouth of the Boriſthenes, as far as the ſtates of Venice, Muſcovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Iſles, have by turns been a prey to the Turkiſh arms:

and, from the year 1640. they were indefatigable in the war of Candy, ſo fatal to the Chriſtians.

Such were the ſituation, the forces, and the intereſts, of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. died.

The ſtate of FRANCE.

FRANCE, having for allies, Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal; and the other nations, which remained neuter, being alſo favourably diſpoſed towards her; maintained a war againſt the Empire and Spain, which proved deſtructive to both parties, and fatal to the houſe of Auſtria. This war reſembled all thoſe which, for ſo many ages, have been carried on between the Chriſtian princes; wherein millions of lives have been ſacrificed, and Provinces laid waſte, only to obtain, at laſt, a few inconſiderable frontier towns, the poſſeſſion of which has very rarely proved adequate to the expence of the conqueſt.

The generals of Lewis XIII, had taken Rouſſillon; and the Catalans had thrown themſelves into the arms of France, as the protector of that liberty which they defended againſt their kings: theſe ſucceſſes did not however prevent the enemy from taking Corbie, in 1637. nor from penetrating even to Pontoiſe. Fear had driven from Paris one half of its inhabitants; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midſt of his vaſt projects for humbling the Auſtrian power, was reduced to lay a tax on the * *Portes Cocheres* of Paris to furniſh each a lackey to go to

* *Portes Cocheres*, every houſe which had a large gate, through which a coach might paſs.

the war, and to repulſe the enemy from the gates of the city.

The French, therefore, had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of miſchief; but not without ſuffering as much themſelves.

Manners of the AGE.

SOME illuſtrious generals were produced by the wars: ſuch as a Guſtavus Adolphus, a Walſtein, a duke of Weymar, Picolomini, John de Wert, the marſhal de Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count d'Harcourt. Nor was the age leſs remarkable for miniſters of ſtate: the chancellor Oxenſtiern, the count duke d'Olivares, and, in particular, the cardinal duke de Richelieu, drew upon them the attention of Europe. There is no age, indeed, but what has produced men remarkable for their abilities, in war and politics; for, unhappily, arms and intrigue ſeem to be the two profeſſions moſt natural to mankind; and we are always under a neceſſity, either to negotiate or fight. But thoſe, who are the moſt ſucceſsful, are often regarded as the greateſt; and the public frequently attributes that to merit, which is the effect only of good fortune.

Wars were not carried on then in the manner we have ſeen them, under the reign of Lewis XIV. The armies were not ſo numerous; no general, ſince the ſiege of Metz, by Charles the fifth, had ever been at the head of fifty thouſand men; and towns were attacked and defended with a leſs numerous train of artillery than is now employed. The art of fortification was yet in its in-

fancy; harquebuſes and pikes were not laid aſide; and the ſword, which is now become, in a manner, unneceſſary, was then in great uſe. Of the ancient laws of nations, there ſtill remained that of declaring war by an herald. Lewis XIII. was the laſt who obſerved this cuſtom: he ſent an herald at arms to Bruſſels, in 1635. to declare war againſt Spain.

Nothing was then more common, than to behold prieſts at the head of armies: the cardinal infant, the cardinal of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette, and Sourdis archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, all had put on the cuiraſs, and ſerved, perſonally, in the wars. The pope, ſometimes, menaced theſe martial prieſts with excommunication: Urban VIII. being enraged againſt France, cauſed cardinal de la Valette to be told, that he would diveſt him of his dignity, as a cardinal, if he did not quit the military ſervice; but, being afterwards reconciled to France, he loaded him with favours.

The ambaſſadors alſo, who are no leſs miniſters of peace than the eccleſiaſtics, made no ſcruple to ſerve in the armies of thoſe allied powers, to whom they were ſent: Charnace, envoy from France, in Holland, commanded a regiment there, in 1637.; and, even ſince, the ambaſſador d'Eſtrade has been a colonel in their ſervice.

The forces of France did not, in the whole, amount to more than about eighty thouſand effective men. The marine, which, for ages, had been intirely neglected, though ſomewhat reſtored under cardinal de Richelieu, was again ruined under Mazarin. The real ordinary revenue of Lewis XIII. was not more than about forty-five millions; indeed ſilver was then valued at about twenty-ſix li-

vres the mark; ſo that theſe forty-five millions amounted to about ſeventy millions of the preſent money of France. The arbitrary value of the mark of ſilver, is, at this day, forty-nine imaginary livres, which is very exorbitant, and what, conſiſtent with juſtice and the public good, can never be increaſed.

Commerce, which is now univerſally underſtood, was then in very few hands, and the interior government of the kingdom was intirely neglected; which is a certain proof of a bad adminiſtration. Cardinal de Richelieu, who was attentive to his own glory, as connected with that of the ſtate, had begun to render France formidable abroad; but without having, as yet, been able to make her very flouriſhing at home. The great roads were neither repaired nor guarded; but were infeſted by robbers; and ſo were the ſtreets of Paris, which were alſo narrow, ill paved, and filled with offenſive naſtineſs. It appears, from the parliamentary regiſter at that time, that the watch of this city amounted to no more than forty-five men; thoſe too but ill paid, and ſuch as, in truth, did not do their duty.

Ever ſince the death of Francis II. France had been continually diſturbed by factions, or torn in pieces by civil wars. The yoke had never been borne in a peaceable and voluntary manner. The nobility were, educated in conſpiracies; which was then the character of the court, as it has ſince been to pleaſe the ſovereign.

This ſpirit of diſcord and faction had diffuſed itſelf, from the court, into the moſt inconſiderable towns, and had engaged all orders in the kingdom: every thing was diſputed; becauſe nothing was fixed or regulated: even the pariſhes of Paris

came to blows with one another; and proceſſions encountered for the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame, and thoſe of la Sainte Chapelle, were often together by the ears; and the parliament of Paris, and the chamber of accompts, quarrelled for the precedency, in the church of Notre Dame, on the day when Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almoſt all orders in the kingdom were in arms; nay, almoſt every individual breathed nothing but the ſpirit of rage and duelling. This Gothic barbarity, which had been formerly authorized by the kings themſelves, and which was become the character of the nation, contributed as much as the domeſtic and foreign wars, to depopulate the kingdom: and it will not be ſaying too much to affirm, that, in the courſe of twenty years, of which ten were embroiled by wars, more Frenchmen were killed by the hands of one another, than by their enemies.

We ſhall ſay nothing here concerning the manner in which the arts and ſciences were cultivated: this part of the hiſtory of our manners will be found in its proper place. We ſhall only obſerve, that the French nation was plunged in ignorance, without excepting thoſe who thought themſelves above the vulgar.

Aſtrologers were conſulted, and believed. All the accounts of thoſe times, to begin with the hiſtory of the preſident de Thou, are full of predictions. The grave and ſevere duke de Sully ſeriouſly relates thoſe which were told to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the moſt infallible mark of

ignorance, was ſo common, and in ſuch credit, that, at the birth of Lewis XIV. care was taken to conceal an aſtrologer near the chamber of his mother, Anne of Auſtria.

What is related by Vittorio Siri, a well-informed cotemporary writer, will ſcarce now be believed: he ſays, that Lewis XIII. was, from his infancy, ſurnamed the Juſt; becauſe he was born under the ſign of the balance.

The ſame weakneſs which gave credit to the abſurd chimera, judicial aſtrology, alſo occaſioned the belief of ſorcery and witchcraft; which were made an article of religion; and there was nothing ſeen but prieſts a-conjuring of devils. Courts of juſtice, compoſed of magiſtrates who ought to have had more ſenſe than the vulgar, were employed in trying perſons accuſed of witchcraft. The memory of cardinal de Richelieu will always be reproached with the death of that famous curate of Loudun, Urban Grandier, who, by a commiſſion from the council, was condemned to be burnt, as a magician: who but muſt conceive indignation againſt the miniſter, and judges, for having been ſo weak, as to give credit to the devils of Loudun, or ſo barbarous as to cauſe an innocent perſon to expire in the flames? Lateſt poſterity muſt hear with aſtoniſhment, that the marſhaleſs de'Ancre was burnt at the Greve, as a ſorcereſs: this unfortunate woman, when queſtioned by counſellor Courtin, concerning the kind of ſorcery ſhe had uſed, to influence the will of Mary de Medicis, having anſwered, *She had uſed that power only, which great ſouls always have over weak minds;* this reply ſerved only to precipitate the decree of her death.

In ſome of the regiſters in the Chatelet, the proceedings are ſtill to be ſeen, in a trial, commenced in 1601. concerning a horſe, which an induſtrious maſter had dreſſed, nearly in the ſame manner in which they are now ſometimes ſeen in a fair: the people were for burning both the maſter and his horſe, as ſorcerers.

Theſe inſtances are ſufficient, in general, to ſhew the genius and manners of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This univerſal want of the light of true knowlege produced many ſuperſtitious practices among the beſt of the people; which were a diſhonour to religion. The Calviniſts, confounding the reaſonable worſhip of the Catholics with thoſe abuſes which were introduced into it, were thereby more ſtrengthened in their hatred of our church. To our popular ſuperſtitions, which are frequently filled with abuſes and debaucheries, they oppoſed a barbarous ſeverity, and ſavageneſs of manners; which, indeed, is the character of almoſt all Reformers. Thus the ſpirit of party divided the nation, and rendered it contemptible: and that ſpirit of ſociableneſs, for which this nation is now ſo celebrated, and ſo amiable, was then abſolutely unknown. There were no houſes where perſons of merit might aſſemble, for the ſake of converſation and mutual information; no academies; no theatres. In ſhort, our manners, laws, arts, ſociety, religion, peace, and war, were none of them then, what they have ſince appeared, in the period which is called the age of Lewis XIV.

CHAPTER II.

The minority of Lewis XIV.; and the victories gained by the French, under the great Conde, then duke d'Enguien.

THE cardinal de Richelieu, and Lewis XIII. were both dead; the one, though hated, yet admired, and the other already forgotten. They had left the French, then in a ſtate of great diſquiet, filled with averſion for the bare name of miniſter, and with but very little reſpect for the throne. Lewis XIII. by his will, appointed a council of regency; and the monarch, who was but ill obeyed in his life-time, flattered himſelf with having more reſpect paid to him after his death: but the firſt ſtep taken by his widow, Anne of Auſtria, was, to cauſe the will of her deceaſed huſband to be annulled, by a decree of the parliament of Paris (*a*). This body, which had long oppoſed the court, and which, under Lewis, had ſcarce preſerved the liberty of making remonſtrances, annulled the will of its king with the ſame facility it would have determined the cauſe of a common citizen. Anne of Auſtria addreſſed herſelf to this body, to obtain the regency unlimited; becauſe Mary of Medicis, after the death of Henry IV. had done the ſame: and Mary of Medicis had ſet this example, becauſe every other way would have been tedious and uncertain; as the parliament, ſurrounded by her

(*a*) Auguſt 18. 1643.

guards, could not refuſe to do what ſhe deſired; and becauſe a decree paſſed in parliament, and by the peers, ſeemed to ſecure to her an inconteſtable right †.

Cuſtom therefore, by which the regency is given to the king's mother, then appeared to the French a law almoſt as fundamental as that which excludes women from the crown. The parliament of Paris, having twice given judgment upon this queſtion; that is to ſay, having, of its own accord, by its arrets, given a ſanction to this right of the mothers; it, in effect, ſeemed to have given the regency; conſidered itſelf, not without ſome appearance of reaſon, as the tutor and guardian of their kings; and each particular counſellor thought himſelf a part of the ſovereignty. By the ſame arret, Gaſton, duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the empty title conferred upon him, of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the abſolute regency of the queen.

Anne of Auſtria was forced, at firſt, to continue the war againſt her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom ſhe loved. It is difficult preciſely to give the reaſon, why this war was carried on againſt him: nothing was required of Spain; not even Navarre, which ſhould have been the patrimony of the kings of France. Both nations had been at war with each other, ever ſince the year 1635. becauſe it had been the will of Cardinal de Richelieu;

† Reincourt, in his hiſtory of Lewis XIV. ſays, the will of Lewis XIII. was confirmed in parliament. In reality, Lewis XIII. had, in his will, declared the queen regent, and this was confirmed; but he had limited her authority, which was annulled: and this ſeems to be what has miſled this writer.

and it appears probable, that he would have it ſo, to make himſelf neceſſary. He united with Sweden againſt the Emperor; and with duke Bernard de Saxe Weymar, one of thoſe generals whom the Italians call condottieri; that is, thoſe who ſell their troops. He alſo attacked the Auſtrian-Spaniſh branch, in thoſe ten provinces which we, in general, call by the name of Flanders; and he divided with the Hollanders, who were then our allies, this Flanders, which no one ever conquers.

The heat of the war was in Flanders: the Spaniſh troops, to the number of twenty ſix thouſand men, quitted the frontiers of Hainault, under the command of an old experienced general, named Don Franciſco de Mello. They ravaged the borders of Champagne, attacked Rocroi, and imagined they ſhould ſoon be able to penetrate as far as the gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakneſs of a minority, animated their hopes; and when they ſaw themſelves oppoſed by an army inferior in numbers, and commanded by a young man not more than 21 years of age, their hopes were changed into certainty.

This unexperienced young man, whom they deſpiſed, was Lewis of Bourbon then duke d'Enguin, afterwards known by the name of the great Conde. Moſt great generals have become ſuch by degrees; but this prince was born a general: the art of war in him appeared to be a natural inſtinct; and, in all Europe, there were only he and Tortenſon the Swede, who, at twenty years of age, had

that natural genius, which makes experience almoſt unneceſſary.

The duke d'Enguien, with the news of the death of Lewis XIII. had received orders not to hazard a battle. The marſhal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counſellor to adviſe and direct him, by his circumſpection ſeconded theſe timid orders: but the prince regarded neither the marſhal nor the court: he communicated his deſign only to Gaſſion marſhal de camp, who was worthy to be conſulted by him; and they obliged the marſhal to find a battle neceſſary.

It is remarkable, that the prince, having regulated every thing on the evening *(b)* before the engagement, ſlept ſo profoundly, that it was neceſſary to wake him in the morning to begin it. The ſame thing is ſaid of Alexander: it is natural for a young man, wearied by the fatigues which a proper diſpoſition for ſo important an engagement neceſſarily requires, afterwards to fall into a deep ſleep: and it is alſo as natural, that a genius formed for war, acting without perturbation, ſhould leave the body ſufficient tranquillity for repoſe. The prince, by his quickneſs in perceiving at once both the danger and the remedy, and by his activity free from diſorder, which carried him to all places at the very inſtant when his preſence became neceſſary, in a manner gained the victory himſelf. It was he who, with the cavalry, attacked that Spaniſh infantry, till then invincible, which was as ſtrong, and as cloſely united, as the celebrated ancient phalanx, and which opened itſelf with an agility that phalanx had not, to make way for the diſcharge of

(b) May 19.

eighteen pieces of cannon, which were concealed in the centre of it. The prince ſurrounded and attacked it three times: and he was ſcarce victorious, before he endeavouerd to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Spaniſh officers threw themſelves at his feet, to gain from him an aſylum againſt the fury of the conquering ſoldiers; and the duke d'Enguien took as great pains for their preſervation, as he had done to conquer them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this Spaniſh infantry, died of his wounds; and Conde, being told of it, ſaid, *that he would have choſen to die like him, if he had not conquered.*

The dread, which ſtill remained in Europe of the Spaniſh arms, was now greatly diminiſhed; and people began to reſpect thoſe of France, which, for an hundred years before, had not gained ſo celebrated a battle; for that bloody one of Marignano, diſputed rather than gained by Francis the firſt againſt the Switzers, had been the work of the German black-bands, at leaſt as much as of the French troops.

The battles alſo of Pavia and Saint Quintin were epochas fatal to the reputation of France. It was the misfortune of Henry IV. to gain remarkable advantages only over his own people. Indeed, under Lewis XIII. the marſhal de Guebriant had ſome little ſucceſs: but this was always balanced by proportionable loſſes. Such grand victories, as ſhake the foundations of empires, and for ever remain memorable, were obtained in that age only by Guſtavus Adolphus.

This battle of Rocroi became an epocha of the

glory of France, and of Conde: he knew both how to conquer, and to reap the benefit of his victory. His letters to the court carried his reſolution to beſiege Thionville, which cardinal de Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and his courtiers, at their return, found every thing prepared for that expedition.

The prince of Conde croſſed the enemy's country, deceived the vigilance of general Beck, and at laſt took Thionville (*c*). From thence he haſtened to beſiege Cirq, of which he alſo made himſelf maſter. He forced the Germans to repaſs the Rhine, which he alſo paſſed after them, with deſign to revenge the defeats, and repair the loſſes, which the French had ſuffered upon theſe frontiers after the death of the marſhal de Guebriand. He found Fribourg taken, and general Merci under its walls with an army even ſuperior to his own. Conde had under him two marſhals of France, one of which was Grammont, and the other that Turenne, who had been made a marſhal a few months before, after having ſucceſsfully ſerved in Piedmont againſt the Spaniards. It was upon this occaſion that he laid the foundations of that great reputation which he afterwards obtained. The prince, with theſe two generals, attacked the camp of Merci (*d*), which was intrenched upon two eminences. The engagement was renewed three times, on three ſeveral days. It is ſaid, the duke d'Enguien threw his ſtaff of command into the enemy's trenches, and marched ſword in hand to regain it, at the head of the regiment of Conti. Theſe bold actions are perhaps neceſſary to animate troops to ſuch difficult

(*c*) Auguſt 8. 1643.
(*d*) Auguſt 31. 1644.

attacks. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than deciſive, was the ſecond victory gained by the prince of Conde. Merci decamped four days afterwards, and Philipsbourgh and Mayence ſurrendered, which at once gave both the proof and the fruits of his victory.

The duke d'Enguien, after this, returns to Paris, receives the acclamations of the people, and demands a recompence at court, leaving his army under the command of the marſhal de Turenne. But this general, notwithſtanding his abilities, was defeated at Mariendal *(e)*. Whereupon the prince again flew to the army, reſumed the command, and to the glory of once more commanding over Turenne, joined that of effacing the diſhonour of his defeat. He attacked Merci in the plains of Norlingen *(f)*, and gained a complete victory. The marſhal de Grammont was taken by the enemy; but general Gleen, who commanded under Merci, was alſo taken priſoner, and Merci himſelf was among the number of the ſlain. This general, who was regarded as one of the greateſt men of the age, was interred upon the field of battle; and the following inſcription was engraved upon his tomb: *Sta, viator, heroem calcas:* Stop, traveler, thou treadeſt upon an hero.

The name of the duke d'Enguien now eclipſed all other names. After this, he beſieged Dunkirk in ſight of the Spaniſh army; and he was the firſt who brought this place under the dominion of France *(g)*.

Theſe great ſucceſſes and ſervices, which were

(e) April 1645. (f) Auguſt 3. 1645. (g) October 7. 1646.

rather ſuſpected than recompenſed by the cour made him dreaded by the miniſtry, as much as b the enemy: he was therefore withdrawn from th theatre of his conqueſts, and his glory; and wa ſent with a parcel of pitiful ill-paid troops, int Catalonia (*h*), where he inveſted Lerida, but wa obliged to raiſe the ſiege. He was accuſed, upon this occaſion, in certain books, of a bravado, i having opened the trenches with the muſic of violins: but theſe writers were ignorant, that this was the cuſtom of Spain.

The unſteady ſituation of affairs ſoon obliged the court to recall Conde into Flanders; where the archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, had beſieged Lens in Artois: but Conde being again at the head of troops, who, under him, had always been victorious, marched with them directly a-gainſt the archduke; and this was the third time that he gave battle under the diſadvantage of infe-rior numbers. The whole of the harangue which he made to his ſoldiers was contained in theſe words: *My friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Norlingen.* This battle of Lens completed his glory (*i*).

He himſelf relieved and ſupported the marſhal de Grammont, who, with the left wing, began to give ground: general Beck he took priſoner; and the archduke, together with the count de Fuenſal-dagne, with difficulty eſcaped. The Imperialiſts and Spaniards, who compoſed this army, were diſ-perſed, with the loſs of upwards of an hundred colours, and thirty-eight pieces of cannon; which, at that time, was a great number. Five thouſand

(*h*) 1647. (*i*) Auguſt 20. 1648.

were made priſoners, three thouſand were killed, and the reſt deſerted; ſo that the archduke remained without an army.

While the prince of Conde ‡ was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and while the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. was alſo ſupporting the reputation of a ſon of Henry IV. and of France, by the taking of Gravelins, Courtray, and Mardyke (*k*); the viſcount du Turenne likewiſe took Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Treves, and re-eſtabliſhed the elector (*l*).

He alſo, in conjunction with the Swedes, gained the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhauſen; and forced the duke of Bavaria, at the age of near 80 years, to quit his dominions (*m*). The count de Harcourt alſo took Balaguier, and defeated the Spaniards. In Italy, they loſt Portolongoni; and twenty ſhips and twenty gallies of France, which compoſed almoſt the whole of our naval force, as reſtored by Richelieu, defeated the Spaniſh fleet upon the coaſt of Italy (*n*).

But this was not all: for the French troops alſo took Lorrain from duke Charles IV. a prince of a martial ſpirit, but inconſtant, imprudent, and unfortunate; who, at one and the ſame time, was deprived of his dominions by the French, and kept priſoner by the Spaniards. The allies of France diſtreſſed the Auſtrian power both in the north and ſouth. The duke d'Albuquerque, general of the Portugueſe, gained the battle of Badajox againſt the Spaniards. Tortenſon defeated the imperialiſts

‡ His father died in 1646.

(*k*) July 1644. (*l*) Nov. 1644. (*m*) 1645. (*n*) 1646.

near Tabor, and gained a compleat victory (*o*). The prince of Orange, at the head of the Hollanders, penetrated into Brabant (*p*).

The king of Spain, being defeated on all ſides, beheld Rouſillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples, having rebelled againſt him, had put itſelf under the protection of the duke of Guiſe, the laſt branch of that houſe, ſo fruitful in illuſtrious and dangerous princes. This duke of Guiſe, who was called only a bold adventurer, becauſe he did not ſucceed, at leaſt obtained the glory of landing alone in a ſmall bark, in the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, and of defending Naples, without any other aſſiſtance than his own courage.

To behold ſo many misfortunes ſhowered down upon the houſe of Auſtria, ſo many victories accumulated by the French, and ſeconded by the ſucceſſes of their allies, one would be inclined to believe, that Vienna and Madrid only waited for the moment when they were to open their gates; and that the emperor and the king of Spain were almoſt without dominions. Nevertheleſs, five years of glory, which had ſcarce ever been diſturbed by any misfortune, had gained but very few real advantages; and though there was a great deal of bloodſhed, it produced no revolution. If, indeed, any revolution was to be feared, it was rather in France; which, though in the midſt of apparent proſperity, was really upon the brink of deſtruction.

(*o*) May 1644. (*p*) Mar. 1645.

CHAPTER III.

The Civil War.

ANNE of Auſtria, being abſolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarin the maſter of France, and of herſelf. He had obtained that power over her, which an artful man will acquire over a woman, born with weakneſs enough to be governed, yet with reſolution to perſiſt in her choice.

In ſome of the memoirs of that time we read, that the queen repoſed her confidence in Mazarin, only for want of Potier biſhop of Beauvais, whom at firſt he had choſen for her miniſter. This biſhop is characterized as a man that wanted capacity; which indeed is probable, and that he was employed for ſome time by the queen, for a blind, that ſhe might not ſhock the nation by an immediate choice of a ſecond cardinal, who was a foreigner. But we cannot believe that Potier began his ſhort miniſtry, by declaring to the Hollanders, *that if they hoped to continue in alliance with France, they muſt become catholics*. He ſhould, in this caſe, have made the ſame declaration to the Swedes. This abſurdity is related by almoſt all hiſtorians, becauſe they have read it in the memoirs of the courtiers, and in thoſe of the Frondeurs. Theſe memoirs contain but too many facts, which are either miſrepreſented by paſſion, or founded only upon popular reports. What is weak and puerile, ſhould not be quoted; and what is abſurd, cannot be believed.

Mazarin at firſt uſed his power with moderation.

It would be neceſſary to have lived long with a miniſter to paint his character, to ſay what was the degree of his courage or his weakneſs, and how far he was a wiſe and prudent man or a cheat. Inſtead, therefore, of pretending to ſay what Mazarin was, we ſhall only relate what he did. In the beginning of his greatneſs he as much affected ſimplicity, as Richelieu had ſtate and grandeur. He was ſo far from having guards, and parading with the pomp of royalty, that his retinue at firſt was very modeſt. Affability, and even familiarity, were ſhewn by him upon all thoſe occaſions, wherein his predeceſſor had diſplayed an inflexible pride and haughtineſs. The queen was deſirous to make her regency and her perſon beloved both by the court and people; and in this ſhe ſucceeded. Gaſton duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Conde, ſupported her power, and had no emulation but in ſerving the ſtate.

Taxes became neceſſary to ſupport the war againſt Spain and the empire: ſome therefore were impoſed, very moderate, no doubt, in compariſon with thoſe we have ſince paid; and yet inſufficient to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate.

The parliament, being in uſe to confirm the edicts for theſe taxes (*a*), ſtrongly oppoſed the edict of the tariffs, and gained the confidence of the people, by the oppoſition with which they perplexed the miniſtry.

At laſt, the creation of twelve places of maſter of requeſts, and the non-payment of about eighty thouſand crowns ſalary to ſome of the ſenior companies, cauſed the whole body of the law to riſe,

(*a*) 1647.

and with them all Paris; ſo that what in our times would ſcarce have furniſhed ſubject for a novel, was then the cauſe of a civil war.

Brouſſel, counſellor and clerk of the great chamber, a man without the leaſt capacity, and who had no other merit, than that of always oppoſing the court, being ſeized, it cauſed more affliction among the people, than they ever ſhewed for the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were renewed; the fire of ſedition in an inſtant burſt forth into flames, difficult to be extinguiſhed; and they were ſtirred up, and their fury increaſed, by a coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz, who was the firſt biſhop that carried on a civil war, without the maſk of religion. This extraordinary man has drawn his own character in his memoirs, which are written with ſuch an air of grandeur, impetuoſity of genius, and inequality, as gives us a very ſtrong repreſentation of his conduct. He was a man, who, from the greateſt degree of debauchery, and ſtill languiſhing under its conſequences, preached to the people, and made himſelf adored by them. He breathed nothing but the ſpirit of faction and ſedition. At the age of 23 years, he had been at the head of a conſpiracy againſt the life of Richelieu. He was the author of the barricadoes, precipitated the parliament into cabals, and the people into ſeditions. What appears ſurpriſing, is, that the parliament ſhould be ſo miſled by him, as to ſet up the ſtandard againſt the court, even before they had gained the ſupport of any one prince.

This body had long been regarded in a very different manner by the court and the people: if we

may credit the general voice of the court, and all our miniſters, the parliament of Paris was no more than a court of juſtice, for the deciſion of civil cauſes between private perſons: that this prerogative depended abſolutely upon the will of the kings: that it had no pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom, except that of ſeniority, and the being compoſed of more conſiderable perſons: that it was the court of peers, only becauſe the court reſided at Paris: that it had no more right to make remonſtrances than the others, not to mention that the right itſelf was only a favour: that it had ſucceeded thoſe parliaments which anciently repreſented the French nation; but that it had nothing left of theſe ancient aſſemblies more than the name: and, as an inconteſtable proof of all this, it was ſaid, that the ſtates general were ſubſtituted in place of theſe national aſſemblies; and that the parliament of Paris no more reſembled thoſe parliaments held by our ancient kings, than a conſul of Smyrna or Aleppo reſembles a conſul of ancient Rome.

This ſingle error in the name was the pretext for the ambitious pretenſions of a body of lawyers; who, becauſe they had purchaſed their employments, thought to aſſume the privileges of the conquerors of Gaul, and the lords who held fiefs of the crown. This body had, in all ages, abuſed that power which is neceſſarily aſſumed by a chief tribunal, continually ſubſiſting in a capital. It had dared to publiſh an arret againſt Charles VII. and to baniſh him the kingdom: it had commenced a criminal proceſs againſt Henry III. it had at all times reſiſted its ſovereign as much as was in its

power; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the mildeſt of governments, and the moſt indulgent of queens, it would have carried on a civil war againſt its prince, in imitation of the parliament of England, which at that time kept its king a priſoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Such were the private ſentiments, and the public diſcourſe of the court.

But the citizens of Paris, and all thoſe who belonged to the long robe, conſidered the parliament as an auguſt court, which had adminiſtered juſtice with an integrity that deſerved to be honoured and reſpected, which deſired nothing ſo much as the happineſs of the ſtate, and which endeavoured to promote this happineſs at the hazard of its own property; which confined its ambition to the glory of reſtraining the ambition of favourites, and which, in all things, endeavoured to ſhew an equal regard to the rights both of king and people: and, therefore, without examining into the origin of its rights and power, the people, when they beheld them ſupport their cauſe againſt miniſters whom they deteſted, attributed to them the moſt ſacred rights, and a power the moſt inconteſtable: they called the parliament *the father of the ſtate*, and made but very little difference between that right which gives the crown to the kings, and that which gave the parliament the power of moderating their kings deſires.

It was impoſſible to fix upon a juſt mean between theſe two extremes; for, in reality, there was no law abſolutely obeyed, except that of time and opportunity. Under a vigorous government the

parliament was nothing, but under a weak king was every thing; and what Monſieur de Guimen ſaid to them, when they complained under Lew XIII. of being preceded by the deputies from th nobility, might now be applied: *Gentlemen, yo will take a ſufficient revenge under a minority.*

We ſhall not here repeat all that has been writte concerning theſe troubles, nor copy books to giv the reader a relation of affairs, which, though in tereſting and important then, are now almoſt for gotten: but we ſhall, however, relate what is ne ceſſary to characterize the genius and diſpoſition o the nation at that time; and, paſſing over ſuch things as are common to all civil wars, confine our ſelves only to what peculiarly diſtinguiſhes that called the *Fronde*.

Two powers, conſtituted by the nation ſolely to maintain peace, namely, an archbiſhop, and a parliament of Paris, having commenced diſturbances, the people conſidered all their outrages as juſtified. The queen could not appear in public, without being inſulted: they called her only by the name of *Lady Anne;* and if any other epithet or title was added, it contained ſomething injurious or unmannerly. They, with violence, reproached her as ſacrificing the nation to her friendſhip for Mazarin; and, what was yet more inſupportable, ſhe heard ſongs and ballads ſung in almoſt all places, deſigned to perpetuate the ſuſpicion which was univerſally entertained of her virtue, and to be monuments of the wit and malignity of the times.

She fled from Paris to St. Germains (*b*), accompanied by her children, her miniſter, the duke

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f Orleans, brother of Lewis XIII. and the great Conde himſelf. They were reduced to pawn the ewels of the crown; and the king himſelf often wanted neceſſaries. They were forced to diſmiſs he pages of the queen's chamber, becauſe they were unable to maintain them. At this very time, even the aunt of Lewis XIV. daughter to Henry the great, and wife to the king of England, having taken refuge in Paris, was there reduced to the extremities of poverty; and her daughter who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of fire to warm her. The people of Paris, being intoxicated by their rage and fury, paid no regard to the diſtreſſes of ſo many royal perſonages.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, begged the prince of Conde to be the king's protector. The victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Norlingen, could not but act conformable to ſo many paſt ſervices; and he was flattered with the honour of defending a court, which he thought ungrateful, againſt the Fronde, which ſought his ſupport. But the parliament, though it had the great Conde to oppoſe, yet dared to purſue the war.

The prince of Conti, younger brother to the great Conde, and as jealous of him as he was incapable to equal him; the duke de Longueville, the duke de Beaufort, and the duke de Bouillon, being deſirous of change; animated alſo by the factious ſpirit of the coadjutor; flattered with the hopes of raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of the ſtate, and with making the wild proceedings of the parliament advantageous to their own private intereſts; came

and offered their ſervices to that body. Generals were appointed in the great chamber to command an army, which they had not. Every individual impoſed a tax upon himſelf to raiſe troops. There were in the parliament twenty counſellors provided with new places by cardinal de Richelieu, upon whom the reſt of their brethren, through a meanneſs of ſpirit, of which every ſociety is ſuſceptible, ſeemed to perſecute the memory of that miniſter. They loaded them with affronts, refuſed to regard them as members of the parliament; and made each of them pay 15,000 livres towards defraying the expences of the war, and to purchaſe the toleration of their brethren.

The great chamber, the inqueſts, the requeſts, the chamber of accompts, the court of aids, which had exclaimed with ſuch violence againſt an inconſiderable and neceſſary impoſt, which did not amount to more than an hundred thouſand crowns, raiſed the ſum of near ten millions of our preſent money, for the deſtruction of their country. Twelve thouſand men were raiſed by arret of parliament. Every great gate furniſhed a man and horſe; and this cavalry was therefore called the cavalry of the great gates. The coadjutor had a regiment under his own command, which was called the regiment of Corinth, becauſe the coadjutor was titular archbiſhop of Corinth.

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Conde, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barbarini: no one could ſay why they were in arms. The prince of Conde beſieged five hundred thouſand citizens with eight

thouſand ſoldiers. The Pariſians quitted the city, and came out into the fields, many of them dreſſed up with feathers and ribbands. Their exerciſes were the jeſt of the regular troops. Upon the approach of only two hundred of the royal army, they would take to flight. Every thing was turned into ridicule. The regiment of Corinth being defeated by a ſmall party, this check was called the *firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians*.

Thoſe twenty counſellors, who had each of them furniſhed fifteen thouſand livres, gained no other honour than that of being called the *twenty fifteens*.

The duke of Beaufort was the idol of the people, and the inſtrument employed in working them up to this ſtate of ſedition: he was a popular prince; but his capacity was inconſiderable, and he was the public object of the raillery of the court; and even of the Fronde itſelf. He was never mentioned but by the name of king of the city-companies. The Pariſian troops, which marched out of Paris, and always returned defeated, were received with laughter and deriſion; and were the occaſion of many verſes and epigrams. The taverns, and other places of public entertainment, were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midſt of their buffoonries, ſongs, and the moſt diſſolute mirth. The licentiouſneſs became ſo great, that one night the principal officers of the Fronde having met the holy ſacrament, which was carrying through the ſtreet to a perſon whom they ſuſpected to be Mazarin, they beat the prieſts with their ſwords, and forced them to return.

The coadjutor himſelf, archbiſhop of Paris, took his ſeat in parliament, with a poniard in his pocket; the handle of which being perceived, ſeveral perſons preſent cried out, *See! there is our archbiſhop's breviary.*

In the midſt of all this confuſion, the nobility aſſembled in a body, at the Auguſtines, appointed the ſyndics, and had public regular meetings: ſo that it might have been ſuppoſed, their deſign was to remedy theſe diſorders, and aſſemble the ſtates-general. Nevertheleſs, the only cauſe of their meeting was a tabouret, which the queen had granted to madame de Pons. Perhaps there never was ſo ſtrong a proof given of that lightneſs of mind, with which the French are reproached.

The civil diſſenſions which reigned in England, preciſely at the ſame time, may ſerve extremely well to ſhew the characters of the two nations. The Engliſh, in their civil diſcords, ſhewed a melancholy cruelty, and a ſenſible madneſs: their battles were bloody; they decided all things by the ſword; ſcaffolds were erected for the vanquiſhed: their king, being taken priſoner, was brought before a court of juſtice; queſtioned concerning the abuſe of his power, with which he had been accuſed; condemned to loſe his head; and was executed in preſence of all his people, with great order, and the ſame formality of juſtice, as if it had been the execution of one of his ſubjects: nor was London, in the courſe of theſe horrid diſorders, ever in the leaſt ſenſible of, or affected by, the calamities, which are the conſequence of civil wars.

The French, on the contrary, precipitated themſelves into ſeditions, through wantonneſs and ca-

rice: women were at the head of factions, and ca-bals were formed, and diſſipated, by love. The ducheſs de Longueville engaged Turenne, then juſt made a marſhal of France, to cauſe the army which he commanded for the king, to revolt. Turenne did not ſucceed in this; but quitted that army, of which he was general, like a fugitive, to pleaſe a woman, who laughed at his paſſion. From being a general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Eſtevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel, by the royal troops. Every body has heard of the marſhal d'Hoquincourt's letter to the ducheſs de Montbazon; *Peronne eſt a la belle des belles: Peronne is ſubjected to the faireſt among the fair.* Thoſe verſes alſo are well known, which were written by the duke de la Rochfaucault to the ducheſs de Longueville, when, in the battle of Saint Antony, he received a muſquet-ſhot, which, for ſome time, deprived him of his ſight:

Pour meriter ſon cœur, pour plaire a ſes beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite aux Dieux.

The war was ended and renewed ſeveral different times; and there was ſcarce any one who did not change parties more than once. The prince of Conde having ſucceſsfully defended the court, and conducted it in triumph into Paris, gave himſelf up to the pleaſure of deſpiſing it; and, not finding that he was rewarded in proportion to his glory and ſervices, he was the firſt to turn Mazarin

into ridicule, to brave the queen, and inſult that government which he diſdained. It is ſaid, that he wrote to the cardinal, with this ſuperſcription, *A l'illuſtriſſimo Signor Faquino:* and that, being one day in his company, when he took his leave, he ſaid, *Adieu, Mars.* He encouraged the marquis de Jarſai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and was diſguſted at her daring to be offended at it. He leagued with his brother the prince of Conti, and the duke de Longueville, who abandoned the party of the Fronde. The duke of Beaufort's faction, at the beginning of the regency, had been called that of the Importants: Conde's was named the party of Petits-maitres; becauſe their deſire was to become maſters of the ſtate. The only memorials, now remaining of theſe troubles, are the name of petit-maitre; which, at this day, is applied to our youths of good families, but bad educations; and the name of Frondeurs, which is applied to all cenſurers of the government.

The coadjutor, who had declared himſelf an implacable enemy to the miniſter, ſecretly reunited with the court, to obtain a cardinal's cap; and ſacrificed the prince of Conde to the reſentment of Mazarin: and that prince, who had defended the ſtate againſt its enemies, and the court againſt rebels; that Conde, who was at the height of glory, having, upon all occaſions, behaved like an hero, and ever ſhewn himſelf a man of great abilities; was ſeized and impriſoned, together with the prince of Conti, and the duke de Longueville. He might have governed the ſtate, if he would have condeſcended to the arts of pleaſing; but he rather choſe to be admired. The people of Paris, who had re-

newed their barricadoes, in defence of an old ſuperannuated counſellor, made the greateſt rejoicings, when the hero, and the defender of France, was confined in the caſtle of Vincennes.

One year after, theſe very Frondeurs, who had ſold the great Conde, and the princes, to the timid revenge of Mazarin, forced the queen to open their priſons, and baniſh her prime miniſter out of the kingdom: and Conde, on his re-appearance in public, received the acclamations of thoſe very people, whoſe hatred againſt him had been ſo violent: but his preſence renewed the cabals and diſſenſions.

The kingdom continued in this ſtate of diſorder and confuſion ſome years longer. The government always purſued meaſures that were weak and uncertain; and it ſeemed probable it would, at laſt, be ſubverted: but the malecontents were in a conſtant ſtate of diſunion, which preſerved the court. The coadjutor, who was ſometimes a friend, and ſometimes an enemy, to the prince of Conde, irritated part of the parliament and people againſt him; had the impudence to make the queen the inſtrument of his oppoſition, and, at the ſame time, to affront her, by obliging her to baniſh cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, through a contradiction too common in weak governments, was obliged, alternately, to receive his ſervices, and his offences, and to nominate this very coadjutor for a cardinal, who had been the promoter of the barricadoes, and had compelled the royal family to retire out of the capital, and to beſiege it.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of the civil war, to the end of the rebellion in 1654.

CONDE at laſt reſolved to begin a war, which, to have become maſter of the ſtate, he ſhould have commenced in the time of the Fronde; but which, if he had been a good ſubject, he would never have commenced at all. He quitted Paris, and went to raiſe forces in Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou; and to beg aſſiſtance againſt France from the Spaniards, to whom he had been the moſt terrible ſcourge.

Nothing can better ſhew the madneſs of thoſe times, and the abſurdity or caprice which determined all affairs, than what now happened to this prince. A courier was ſent to him from Paris, with propoſals to engage him to peace, and to return. The courier made a miſtake, and, inſtead of going to Angerville, where the prince was, he went to *Augerville*. The letter, by this miſtake, arrived too late; and Conde only ſaid, that, if he had received it ſooner, he would have accepted the propoſals of peace; but that ſince he was now at a great diſtance from Paris, it was not worth his while to return thither. And thus this miſtake of the courier, and the mere caprice of the prince, again plunged France into a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who even in his exile at Cologne had governed the court, re-entered the

kingdom, not ſo much like a miniſter who came to reſume his poſt, as like a ſovereign who retook poſſeſſion of his dominions (a): he was eſcorted by a little army of ſeven thouſand men, raiſed at his own expence, or, rather, at the expence of France; for he had appropriated the public money to his own uſe.

In a declaration publiſhed at that time, it was told the king, that Mazarin had actually raiſed theſe troops with his own money; which muſt confute the opinion of thoſe who have affirmed, that, at his firſt retirement out of the kingdom, he had been in a ſtate of indigence. He gave the command of his little army to the marſhal d'Hoquincourt. All the officers wore green ſcarfs, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party had, indeed, its ſcarf. The king's was white: the prince of Conde's was the Iſabella colour. It is ſurpriſing, that cardinal Mazarin, who till then had affected ſo much modeſty, ſhould have the boldneſs to make an army wear his livery, as though he had a party different from his maſter's: but he could not reſiſt the vanity of it, in which he was countenanced by the queen. The king, who was now of age, together with his brother, went to meet him.

Upon the firſt advice of his return, Gaſton d'Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIII. who had demanded the baniſhment of Mazarin, raiſed troops in Paris, without well knowing wherein to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proſcribed Mazarin, and ſet a price upon his head. It was neceſſary to ſearch the regiſters, to find what was the price ſet upon the head of an enemy to the

(a) December, 1651.

kingdom. It appeared, that, under Charles IX. fifty thouſand crowns had been promiſed to whoever ſhould bring admiral Coligny either dead or alive; and it was thought proper to proceed with great ſerioufneſs and regularity, in putting the ſame price upon the aſſaſſination of the cardinal prime miniſter. But this proſcription tempted no one to an acquiſition of the fifty thouſand crowns, which, after all, would not have been paid. In any other nation, and at any other time, ſuch an arret would probably have been executed; but this became only the ſubject of new pleaſantries. The Blots and the Marignys, wits of that time, who diffuſed gaiety and mirth into theſe tumults and troubles, cauſed papers to be fixed up in Paris, promiſing an hundred and fifty thouſand livres, to be divided; ſo much to whoever ſhould ſlit the cardinal's noſe; ſo much for an ear; ſo much for an eye; and ſo much for making him an eunuch. This ridicule was the only effect of the proſcription. Nor did the cardinal, on his ſide, employ either poiſon or aſſaſſination againſt his enemies; and notwithſtanding the inveteracy and violence of ſo many different parties and the private animoſities which ſubſiſted, there were not many great crimes committed. The chiefs of the parties were not cruel, nor the people furious; for this was not a religious war.

That infatuation, which was ſo univerſal at this time, ſo intirely poſſeſſed the whole body of the parliament of Paris, that, after having ſolemnly decreed an aſſaſſination, which was laughed at, it iſſued an arret, by which ſeveral counſellors were to tranſport themſelves upon the frontiers, to oppoſe the army of cardinal Mazarin; that is, the royal army.

Two counſellors were ſo imprudent as to go with ſome peaſants to break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to paſs; and were made priſoners by the king's troops; but they were preſently releaſed, and became the jeſt and ridicule of all parties.

At the ſame time when the parliament proceeded to theſe extremities againſt the king's miniſter, it declared the prince of Conde, who had taken arms only againſt this miniſter, guilty of high-treaſon; and, through a contradiction which all the former proceedings render credible, it ordered the new-raiſed troops of Gaſton duke of Orleans to march againſt Mazarin; and, at the ſame time, prohibited the taking of any money out of the public treaſury to pay them.

Indeed, nothing better could be expected from a company of magiſtrates, who thus acted out of their ſphere, not knowing either their rights, or their real power; unſkilled both in politics and war; aſſembling and deciding in tumult; and ſiding with parties which the day before they had not thought of, and at which they were themſelves afterwards aſtoniſhed.

The parliament of Bordeaux was at this time at the devotion of the prince of Conde; but it obſerved a more uniform conduct: for, being much farther from court, it was leſs agitated by contending parties.

But more conſiderable objects now intereſted the whole kingdom of France.

Conde, being leagued with the Spaniards, had taken the field againſt the king; and Turenne,

having quitted thoſe Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Retel, had made his peace with the court, and again commanded the royal army. The exhauſted condition of the finances did not permit either party to have numerous forces: but the fate of the kingdom was as much decided by leſſer numbers. There are times when an hundred thouſand men are ſcarce able to take two towns in a campaign: and there are others, wherein an engagement between ſeven or eight thouſand will be ſufficient to overturn or eſtabliſh a crown.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adverſity, went, together with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, not having near ſo many troops about his perſon, as he afterwards had in times of peace for his ordinary guard: and five or ſix thouſand men, part of them ſent from Spain, and the reſt raiſed by the partizans of the prince of Conde, purſued him into the heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Conde, in the mean time, marched from Bordeaux to Montauban, took many towns, and every-where increaſed his party.

All the hopes of the court were centered in the marſhal de Turenne. The royal army was encamped near Gien, upon the river Loire. That of the prince of Conde was at ſome leagues diſtance, under the command of the duke de Nemours, and the duke of Beaufort. The animoſity, ſubſiſting between theſe two generals, was very near being fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was incapable of the leaſt command; and the duke de Nemours was rather eſteemed for his amiableneſs and bravery, than for his abilities.

They well nigh proved, between them, the ruin of their army. The ſoldiers knew that the great Conde was at an hundred leagues diſtance, and had already conſidered themſelves as in a ſtate of deſtruction; when, at the dead of night, a courier appeared in the foreſt of Orleans before the advanced guards. The centinels preſently diſcovered, that this courier was no other than the prince of Conde himſelf, who, through a thouſand dangers and adventures, had come in diſguiſe from Agen, to put himſelf at the head of his army.

His preſence alone did a great deal, and this unexpected arrival much more. He knew, that whatever is ſudden, and unhoped for, animates and tranſports mankind; and he therefore inſtantly took advantage of that courage and confidence which he had inſpired. The great talent of this prince in war conſiſted in forming the boldeſt reſolutions in an inſtant, and in executing them with equal prudence and celerity.

The royal army was ſeparated into two bodies. Conde (*b*) fell upon that which was at Blenau, commanded by the marſhal d' Hoquincourt; and this body was diſperſed almoſt as ſoon as attacked. Turenne could not be informed of it; and Mazarin ran in a fright, and in the middle of the night, to Gien, to wake the king, who was aſleep, and tell him what had happened. The news threw his little court into the greateſt conſternation; and it was at laſt propoſed to ſave the king by flight, and privately conduct him to Bourges. The victorious Conde drew near to Gien; and his approach in-

(*b*) April 1652.

creaſed the dread and deſpair of the court: but Turenne encouraged them by his firmneſs, and ſaved them by the prudence of his conduct: for he made ſo good a diſpoſition of his little remains of troops, and took his advantage of the ſituation and time ſo happily, that he prevented Conde from purſuing his advantage. It was difficult, upon this occaſion, to decide which gained the greateſt honour: Conde, in being victorious, or Turenne, in depriving him of the fruits of his victory. It is true, that, in this battle of Blenau, ſo long celebrated in France, there were not four hundred men killed; but the prince of Conde was not the leſs near making himſelf maſter of the whole royal family, and of getting into his power his enemy cardinal Mazarin. Greater intereſts, or a more imminent danger, could ſcarce ever depend on ſo inconſiderable an engagement.

Conde, who did not flatter himſelf he ſhould ſurpriſe Turenne, as he had ſurpriſed Hoquincourt, cauſed his army to march ſpeedily towards Paris, there to enjoy his glory in the favourable diſpoſitions of a blind people. Their admiration of this laſt battle, all the circumſtances of which were exaggerated, their hatred againſt Mazarin, and the name and preſence of the great Conde, ſeemed at firſt to render him abſolute maſter of the capital. But diviſion reigned in the minds of all, and each party was ſubdivided into factions, which generally happens in all troubles. The coadjutor, who was now become cardinal de Retz, being in appearance reconciled to the court, which was afraid of him, and in which he did not confide, was no longer the maſter of the people, nor the principal leader among

them. He governed the duke of Orleans, and oppoſed Conde. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all were unanimous in exclaiming againſt Mazarin: every one ſecretly purſued his private intereſts: the people was a tempeſtuous ſea, the waves of which were toſſed about by ſo many contrary winds. The ſhrine of St. Genevieve was carried through Paris in proceſſion, to obtain the expulſion of the cardinal miniſter; and the populace made no doubt the ſaint would work this miracle, as well as grant rain.

Nothing was ſeen but negotiations between the chiefs of the parties, deputations from the parliament, aſſemblies of the chambers, ſeditions among the people, and the whole country in arms. They kept guard before the gates of monaſtries. The prince had called in the Spaniards to his aſſiſtance. Charles IV. that duke of Lorrain, who was driven out of his dominions, and whoſe ſole remainder of power or fortune was an army of eight thouſand men, which he ſold annually to the king of Spain, came to Paris with this army. Cardinal Mazarin offered him more money to return than the prince of Conde had given him to come; and therefore the duke of Lorrain ſoon retired out of France, having laid it waſte in his paſſage, and carried away with him the money of both parties.

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of St. Antony, wherein theſe two generals with ſo few troops performed ſo great things, that both their reputations, which already appeared too great to be increaſed, were yet more exalted by them.

The prince of Conde, with a few lords of his party, followed by a ſmall body of ſoldiers, ſuſtained and repulſed the attack of the royal army. The king and Mazarin beheld this engagement from an eminence. The duke of Orleans, being doubtful what party to embrace, remained in his palace of Luxembourg. Cardinal de Retz was cantoned in his archbiſhopric. The parliament waited the event of the battle, before they publiſhed any decree. The people who, upon this occaſion, equally feared the troops both of the king and prince, had cloſed the city-gates, and would ſuffer none either to enter or go out; while the greateſt perſonages in France were engaged in battle, and ſhedding their blood in the ſuburbs. It was here where the duke of Rochfaucault, ſo illuſtrious for his courage and fine genius, received a ſtroke below his eyes, which made him loſe his ſight for ſome time. There was nothing to be ſeen but young noblemen killed or wounded, whom they were carrying to the gate of St. Antony, which thoſe within refuſed to open.

At laſt Mademoiſelle (*c*), the daughter of Gaſton, eſpouſed the party of Conde, whom her father dared not to aſſiſt; cauſed the gates to be opened to receive the wounded, and had the boldneſs to direct the cannon of the Baſtille to be fired upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; and all that Conde gained was glory: but Mademoiſelle,

(*c*) July, 1652.

by this violent action, for ever ruined herself with the king her cousin; and Cardinal Mazarin, who knew her extreme desire to espouse a crowned head, upon this occasion, said, *Those cannon have killed her husband.*

Most of our historians give their readers nothing but relations of battles, and the prodigies of courage and policy: but whoever knows what shameful resources were used upon this occasion, into what misery the people were plunged, and to what meannesses the chiefs of both parties were reduced, will regard the heroes of that time rather with pity than admiration. We may be enabled to judge of this from what is related by Gourville, who was attached to the prince. He confesses, that, to obtain money, he had robbed the receiver's office, and that he seized a certain post-master in his lodgings, and made him pay a ransom for his liberty; and these violences, he assures us, were very common.

After the bloody and fruitless battle of St. Antony, the king was unable to re-enter Paris; and the prince could not continue in it long. A popular tumult, joined to the murder of several citizens, of which he was believed to be the author, rendered him odious to the people. Nevertheless, he had his party in the parliament. This body, being then but little intimidated by a court which wandered about, and was in a manner driven out of its capital, and which was distressed by the cabals of the duke of Orleans, and the prince, by an arret (*d*), declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was of

(*d*) July, 20. 1652.

age. The ſame title had been given to the duke de Mayenne in the time of the League. The prince of Conde was ſtiled generaliſſimo of the armies. The court, in a rage, ordered the parliament to be tranſferred to Pontoiſe; which only ſome of the counſellors obeyed: ſo that now there were two parliaments, who diſputed each other's authority, and iſſued contradictory arrets; by which they would have rendered themſelves contemptible to the people, had not they always continued unanimous in demanding the expulſion of Mazarin: ſo much did a hatred againſt this miniſter then appear to be an eſſential duty in a Frenchman.

There were none of the parties at this time but what were in a weak condition: that of the court was as weak as any of them: they were all in want both of men and money: tumults and factions increaſed; and engagements between the parties had only produced loſſes and vexation. The court was again forced to ſacrifice Mazarin (*e*), whom the whole nation accuſed as the cauſe of the troubles, though he was really only the pretence. He quitted the kingdom a ſecond time; and, to encreaſe the ſhame of it, the king publiſhed a declaration, wherein he acknowleged, that, though he parted with his miniſter, he was pleaſed with his ſervices, and regretted his exile.

Charles the firſt, king of England, had loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, for having, at the beginning of the troubles, ſacrificed the blood of his friend Strafford to his parliament. Lewis XIV. on the contrary, became the peaceable maſter of his kingdom, by ſuffering the exile of Mazarin. And thus

(*e*) Auguſt 12. 1652.

he ſame weakneſſes were the cauſes of very differ-
nt effects. The king of England, by abandoning
is favourite, emboldened a people, who breathed
othing but war, and who hated kings: but Lewis
XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by baniſhing
he cardinal, took away all pretence for ſedition
rom a people that were weary of war, and who
were lovers of regal dominion.

The cardinal was no ſooner departed for Bouillon,
which was the place of his new retreat, than the
citizens of Paris voluntarily ſent a deputation to the
king, to beg his majeſty would return into his ca-
pital. He accordingly entered it, and every thing
appeared ſo peaceable, that it was difficult to ima-
gine how a few days before every thing could have
been in ſuch confuſion. Gaſton of Orleans, unfor-
tunate in his enterprizes, which he never knew how
to execute, was confined at Blois, where he paſſed
the remainder of his days in repentance; and was
the ſecond of the ſons of Henry the great, who died
without obtaining great glory. Cardinal de Retz,
who perhaps was as imprudent as he was lofty and
audacious, was ſeized in the Louvre; and, after
being removed from priſon to priſon, he wandered
about a long time, and at laſt ended his days in a
retreat, in which he acquired thoſe virtues, to which
his great courage, in the variety and agitation of
his actions and fortunes, had rendered him a ſtran-
ger.

Some counſellors, who had the moſt remarkably
abuſed their power, were puniſhed for their beha-
viour by exile: others confined themſelves within
the bounds of their employment as magiſtrates;
and ſome of them returned to their duty, in conſi-

deration of an annual ſum of five hundred crowns, which were privately paid them by Fouquet, procuror-general and ſuperintendant of the finances †.

In the mean time, the prince of Conde, though abandoned by almoſt all his partiſans in France, and but ill aſſiſted by the Spaniards, continued an unſucceſsful war upon the frontiers of Champagne. Some diſturbances alſo continued in Bourdeaux; but they were ſoon quelled.

The tranquillity of the kingdom was reſtored by the baniſhment of cardinal Mazarin: nevertheleſs, though he had been forced to retire by the univerſal clamours of the people, and by an expreſs declaration from the king, yet Lewis preſently after ſending for him (*f*), Mazarin returned, and was aſtoniſhed to find that he entered Paris with the ſame power as before, and without the leaſt diſturbance. Lewis XIV. received him as his father, and the people as their maſter. An entertainment was made for him in the Hotel-de-ville, in the midſt of the acclamations of the citizens; and, on this occaſion, he threw money among the populace: but it is ſaid, that, in his joy for ſo happy an exchange, he expreſſed a contempt for our inconſtancy. The parliament, though it had before ſet a price upon his head, as upon a public robber, now ſent deputies to compliment him: and this very parliament ſoon after condemned the prince of Conde to loſe his life for contumacy. Such changes are common in ſuch circumſtances; but this was more mortifying than uſual, as, by their arrets, they condemned a perſon in whoſe crimes they had themſelves ſo long participated.

† Memoirs de Gourville. (*f*) March 1653.

The cardinal, who haſtened this condemnation of Conde, ſoon after married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti, Conde's brother; which was a proof, that the power of this miniſter was now becoming boundleſs.

CHAPTER V.

The ſtate of France, to the death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

WHILE the ſtate had been thus diſtracted and torn within, it had been attacked and weakened from without. The fruits of the battles of Rocroi, Lens, and Norlingen, were all loſt. The important fortreſs of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who alſo drove the French out of Barcelona, and retook Caſal in Italy (*a*). Yet notwithſtanding the diſorders of a civil, and the burden of a foreign war, Mazarin was ſo happy as to conclude that celebrated peace of Weſtphalia (*b*), by which the emperor and the empire ſold to the king and crown of France the ſovereignty of Alſace, for three millions of livres, payable to the archduke; which ſum makes ſix millions of the preſent money of France. By this treaty alſo, which became the baſis of all future treaties, a new electorate was created in favour of the houſe of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes, the imperial towns, and the privileges of the moſt inconſiderable of the Germans, were confirmed. The emperor's power was confined within narrow bounds, and the French,

(*a*) 1652. (*b*) 1648.

being united with the Swedes, became the legiſlators of Germany. But this glory, obtained by France, was due, at leaſt in part, to the arms of Sweden; for Guſtavus Adolphus had given the firſt ſhock to the imperial power; and his generals had puſhed their conqueſts very conſiderably under the government of his daughter Chriſtina. Her general, Wrangel, alſo was upon the point of entering Auſtria: and count Konigſmark had become maſter of one half of the city of Prague, and was beſieging the other, when this peace was concluded. And, to humble the emperor in this manner, coſt France very little more than a million, paid annually to the Swedes. Sweden, by theſe treaties, did, indeed, gain greater advantages than France; for ſhe obtained Pomerania, together with many towns, and a conſiderable ſum of money. She alſo forced the emperor to transfer certain benefices, which belonged to the Roman catholics, into the hands of the Lutherans. Rome exclaimed againſt this as an impiety, and declared that the cauſe of God was betrayed. But the Proteſtants, on the contrary, boaſted they had ſanctified the peace by thus robbing the Papiſts. All mankind ſpeak as they are prompted by their intereſts.

Spain was not included in this peace, and for good reaſons; for, perceiving that France was plunged in civil wars, the Spaniſh miniſter hoped to reap advantage from our diviſions: and the German troops, being now diſengaged, became an additional ſuccour to the Spaniards, the emperor, in four years time from the peace of Weſtphalia, cauſed near thirty thouſand men to march into Flan-

lers; which was a manifeſt violation of the treaties; but, indeed, treaties are ſeldom executed otherwiſe.

In this treaty of Weſtphalia, the miniſters of the court of Madrid had the addreſs to conclude a ſeparate peace with Holland; and the Spaniſh monarchy at laſt thought itſelf happy in acknowleging its ſovereigns, and no longer having for its enemies, thoſe whom it had ſo long treated as rebels, unworthy of pardon. Theſe republicans increaſed their riches, and ſtrengthened their peace and their power, by concluding a peace with Spain, without breaking with France.

They became ſo powerful, that, in a war which they had ſome time after with England, (*c*) they ſent out a fleet of an hundred ſhips of the line; and the victory frequently remained doubtful between Blake the Engliſh admiral, and the Dutch admiral Tromp, who were by ſea, what the Condes and Turennes were by land. France, at that time, had not ten ſhips of fifty guns in a condition to put to ſea; and her marine was declining daily.

Lewis XIV. therefore in 1653. found himſelf abſolute maſter of a kingdom, which was not yet recovered from the ſhocks it had received; which was filled with diſorders in every part of the adminiſtration, but which nevertheleſs had great reſources; deſtitute even of one ſingle ally, except Savoy, to enable him to maintain an offenſive war; and having no longer any foreign enemies, except Spain, which was then even in a worſe condition than France. All the people of France, who had been engaged in the civil war, were ſubjected, or returned voluntarily to

(*c*) 1653.

their duty, except the prince of Conde, and some few of his partiſans; one or two of which continued conſtant to him through friendſhip, or greatneſs of ſoul; ſuch as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville; and the others, becauſe the court refuſed to purchaſe them at too high a price.

Conde, now become general of the Spaniſh armies, was unable to reſtore a party which he had himſelf weakened, by the deſtruction of their infantry in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought at the head of new forces, of which he was not maſter, againſt the old French regiments, which had learned to conquer under him, and which were commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Turenne and Conde to be always victorious, when they fought at the head of the French, and to be vanquiſhed when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne, when from general to the king of France, he had made himſelf lieutenant to Don Eſtevan de Gamarra, had ſcarce been able to ſave the ſhattered remains of the Spaniſh army in the battle of Retel.

The prince of Conde had the ſame fate before Arras (*d*): he and the archduke beſieged that city. Turenne attacked them in their camp, and forced their lines: the troops of the archduke were put to flight; and Conde, with two regiments of French and Lorrainians, alonce ſuſtained the efforts of Turenne's army; and while the archduke was flying, he defeated the marſhal de Hoquincourt, repulſed the marſhal de la Ferte, and retreated victoriouſly himſelf, by covering the retreat of the vanquiſhed Spaniards. The king of Spain, in his letter to

(*d*) Auguſt 25. 1654.

him, after this engagement, had theſe words: *I have been informed that every thing was loſt, and that you have ſaved all.*

It is difficult to determine what it is that gains or loſes battles; but it is certain, that Conde was one of the greateſt genius's in war that the world ever produced, and that the archduke and his council refuſed to do any thing which Conde propoſed in this engagement.

The relieving of Arras, the forcing of the lines, and the defeat of the archduke, crowned Turenne with glory: but it is remarkable, that in the letter written in the king's name to the parliament †, on occaſion of this victory, the whole ſucceſs of the campaign was attributed to Mazarin, and that the name of Turenne was not even mentioned. The cardinal had, indeed, been at ſome leagues diſtance from Arras, with the king; and he had even entered into the camp, at the ſiege of Stenai, which Turenne had taken, before he ſuccoured Arras. Councils of war had alſo been held in his preſence; and, on this foundation, he aſſumed to himſelf the honour of theſe great actions; but this vanity made him appear ſo ridiculous, that all the authority of his miniſtry could not efface it.

The king was not preſent in the battle of Arras, though he might have been there. He had appeared in the trenches at the ſiege of Stenai; but Mazarin would not ſuffer him further to expoſe his perſon, whereon the repoſe of the ſtate, and the miniſter's power, ſeemed abſolutely to depend.

On one ſide, Mazarin, the abſolute maſter of

† Dated from Vincennes, September 11. 1654.

France, and of the young king; and, on the other, Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Spain, and Philip IV.; continued the war, under their maſters names, though but with little vigour on either part. Lewis XIV. was not yet known in the world; and the king of Spain had never been remarkable. There was not a ſingle crowned head in Europe, who had any ſhare of perſonal glory. Chriſtina queen of Sweden was the only potentate who governed by herſelf, and ſupported the dignity of her throne, though abandoned, diſregarded, or unknowu, in the other nations of Europe.

Charles II. king of England, who was a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, brought with him his misfortunes, and his hopes. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were ſubjected by a private perſon; and Cromwell, an uſurper, worthy to reign, had aſſumed the title of protector, and not that of king; becauſe the Engliſh knew how far the prerogative of their kings ſhould extend, but were ignorant of the bounds to the authority of a protector.

He eſtabliſhed his power, by knowing when it was proper to reſtrain it: he made no attempts on thoſe privileges, of which the people were jealous: ſoldiers were never quartered in the city of London: he impoſed no taxes, that might occaſion murmurs: he did not offend the eyes of the public, by appearing with too great pomp and grandeur: he did not indulge himſelf in any pleaſures: he accumulated no treaſures: and he took care to have juſtice adminiſtered with that ſtrict impartiality, which makes no diſtinction between the great and the ſmall.

The brother of Pantaleon, embaſſador in England from the court of Portugal, thinking his licentiouſneſs would paſs unpuniſhed, becauſe the perſon of his brother was ſacred, inſulted certain citizens of London, and cauſed one of them to be aſſaſſinated, to revenge the reſiſtance of the others: but he was condemned to be hanged; and Cromwell, though he might have pardoned him, ſuffered him to be executed; and the next day ſigned a treaty with the embaſſador.

Commerce had never been ſo flouriſhing, or ſo free, before; and England had never before been ſo rich. Her victorious fleets made her name reſpected throughout the world; while Mazarin, being ſolely engaged in enriching himſelf, and increaſing his own power, ſuffered the juſtice, the commerce, the marine, and even the finances, of France, to languiſh and decay. Being maſter of France, as Cromwell was of England after the civil war, he might have done that for the country which he governed, which Cromwell had done for his: but Mazarin was a foreigner; and, as he had not the barbarity, neither had he the grandeur of ſoul, which Cromwell poſſeſſed.

All the nations of Europe, which had neglected the alliance of England, under the reigns of James I. and Charles, ſollicited it under the protector: and queen Chriſtina herſelf, though ſhe deteſted the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with the tyrant whom ſhe eſteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro uſed all their arts of policy, to unite themſelves with the protector; and Cromwell, for ſome time, enjoyed the

ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf courted by the two moſt powerful kingdoms, in Europe.

The Spaniſh miniſter offered to aſſiſt him in taking Calais: Mazarin propoſed to him the ſiege of Dunkirk, and the putting of that place in his poſſeſſion: and thus Cromwell had his choice of the keys both of France and Flanders. He was alſo ſollicited by the prince of Conde; but he refuſed to negotiate with a prince, who had nothing left but his title, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector declared himſelf, at laſt, for France; but without concluding any particular treaty, and without making any previous partition of conqueſts; for he propoſed to make his uſurpation remarkable by greater enterprizes. His deſign was, to deprive the Spaniards of America; but they received timely notice of it. Cromwell's admirals, nevertheleſs, took Jamaica from them (e); which iſland the Engliſh ſtill poſſeſs, and which ſecures their commerce in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell ſigned his treaty with the king of France; which he did, without making as yet any mention of Dunkirk. The protector treated with him as his equal, and forced the king to acknowlege his title of protector. His ſecretary ſigned the treaty, before the plenipotentiary of France; and he acted like a real ſuperior, by obliging the king of France to cauſe Charles II. and the duke of York, who were the grandſons of Henry IV. and to whom France owed an aſylum, to depart out of his dominions.

While Mazarin was concluding this treaty,

(e) May 1655.

Charles II. demanded one of his nieces in marriage: but the bad ſtate of his affairs, which compelled this prince to ſuch a behaviour, alſo drew upon him a refuſal: and the cardinal has even been ſuſpected of a deſign to get the niece, which he refuſed to the king of England, married to the ſon of Cromwell. It is, at leaſt, certain, that, when Mazarin afterwards perceived it became leſs difficult for Charles II. to regain his crown, he renewed the propoſal of marriage, and was refuſed in his turn.

Henrietta of France who was the mother of theſe two princes, and the daughter of Henry the Great, having been in France for ſome time, without any ſupport, was reduced to the neceſſity of requeſting the cardinal to ſollicit Cromwell, that he would, at leaſt, pay her jointure. This was certainly the ſevereſt of all humiliations, to be compelled to beg a ſubſiſtence from the man who had ſhed her huſband's blood upon a ſcaffold. Mazarin made ſome faint ſollicitations in England, in the name of this queen; and ſoon after informed her, that they had been without ſucceſs. Henrietta, therefore, continued at Paris, in a ſtate of poverty, and under the ſhame of having implored the pity of Cromwell; and her children entered into the army of Conde, and Don John of Auſtria, to learn and practiſe the art of war againſt France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. being obliged to retire out of France, had taken refuge in Spain. The Spaniſh miniſters in all the foreign courts, and particularly at Rome, loudly exclaimed, both in writing, and in their diſcourſes, againſt a cardinal, who had thus, ſaid they, ſacrificed all laws, both divine

and hnman, and all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king; and who had baniſhed out of France Charles II. and the duke of York who were the couſins of Lewis XIV. to pleaſe their father's executioner. In anſwer to theſe exclamations of the Spaniards, only the offers were produced, which they themſelves had made to the protector.

The war in Flanders conſtantly continued with various ſucceſs. Turenne having, in conjunction with the marſhal de la Ferte, beſieged Valenciennes, he experienced the ſame reverſe of fortune, which Conde had ſuffered before Arras. The prince, being ſeconded, upon this occaſion, by Don John of Auſtria, who was more worthy to fight by his ſide than the archduke, (f) forced the lines of marſhal de la Ferte, took him priſoner, and delivered Valenciennes.

Turenne now did what Conde had formerly done, in a defeat of the ſame kind. He ſaved the vanquiſhed army, and every-where ſuſtained the attacks of the enemy; and, even in a month after, he beſieged and took the little town of La Capelle; which, perhaps, was the firſt time a vanquiſhed army dared to undertake a ſiege. This celebrated march of Turenne, after which la Capelle was taken, was eclipſed by another march, ſtill more glorious, by the prince of Conde: Turenne had no ſooner beſieged Cambray, than Conde, at the head of two thouſand cavalry, pierced through the army of the beſiegers; and, having vanquiſhed whoever offered to oppoſe his paſſage, (g) he threw himſelf into the city; the inhabitants of which received their deliverer upon their knees. Thus

(f) July 17. 1656. (g) May 30. 1658.

theſe two great generals, being oppoſed againſt each other, diſplayed the various reſources of their genius. They were admired in their retreats, as well as in their victories, in their good conduct, and even in their errors, which they always knew how to repair. Their abilities, by turns, put a ſtop to the progreſs of both parties; but the diſorder which reigned in the finances, both of France and Spain, was a ſtill greater obſtacle to their ſucceſs.

The alliance concluded with Cromwell, at laſt, gained France a more diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority: on one ſide admiral Blake burnt the Spaniſh galleons, near the Canaries, and deprived them of the only treaſures with which the war could be ſupported: on another ſide, twenty Engliſh ſhips blocked up the port of Dunkirk; and Turenne's army was reinforced by ſix thouſand veterans, who had effected the revolution in England.

Dunkirk, which was the moſt important fortreſs in Flanders, was beſieged, both by ſea and land. Conde and Don John of Auſtria, having aſſembled their forces, appeared to relieve the place. The eyes of all Europe were fixed on this event. Cardinal Mazarin conducted Lewis XIV. near the theatre of war; but would not ſuffer him to enter upon it, though he was now near twenty years old. He was at Calais, while his army attacked that of Spain, near the Dunes, and gained the moſt glorious victory that had been obtained ſince the battle of Rocroi (*h*).

The genius of the prince of Conde could not, on this occaſion, do any thing againſt the ſuperior

(*h*) June 14. 1658.

troops of France and England. The Spaniſh army was deſtroyed; and Dunkirk ſoon after ſurrendered. The king haſtened, with his miniſter, to ſee the garriſon march out. The cardinal did not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either as a general, or a king: he had no money to diſtribute among the troops; nor had ſcarce a houſhold of his own: for, when he was in the army, he was always at the tables either of Mazarin or Turenne.

This neglect of the royal dignity did not, in Lewis XIV. proceed from any contempt of grandeur; but from the confuſed ſtate of his affairs, and the care which Mazarin took to unite all ſplendor and authority in himſelf.

Lewis entered Dunkirk, only to deliver it up to Lockhart, the embaſſador of Cromwell. Mazarin attempted, by his fineſſe, to elude the treaty, and avoid giving up the place: but Lockhart menaced; and Engliſh reſolution got the better of Italian addreſs.

It is affirmed by many perſons, that the cardinal, who attributed the affair of Arras to himſelf, endeavoured alſo to make Turenne cede to him the honour of the battle of Dunes. It is ſaid, that Du Bec-Crepin, count de Moret, came from the miniſter, to propoſe to the general the writing of a letter, wherein it ſhould appear, that the cardinal had, himſelf, regulated the whole plan of the operations: but Turenne rejected this propoſal with contempt, and refuſed to ſay that which would only have brought ſhame upon himſelf, as general, and ridicule upon the cardinal, as a churchman: and Mazarin, who had been guilty of this

weakneſs, had alſo that of continuing to be at variance with Turenne, as long as he lived.

Some time after the ſiege of Dunkirk, Cromwell died, aged 55 years, in the midſt of the projects he was forming to ſtrengthen his own power, and increaſe the glory of his nation. He had humbled Holland, forced a treaty upon Portugal, vanquiſhed Spain, and obliged France to ſolicit his ſupport. Not long before he died, being told with what haughtineſs his admirals had behaved at Liſbon, he ſaid; *I would have the Engliſh republic reſpected as much as the Roman republic was of old.* It is not true, that he affected the enthuſiaſt and the falſe prophet at his death, as has been reported by ſome writers: and it is certain, that, in his death, he ſhewed the ſame unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul, which he had always manifeſted in every action of his life. He was interred like a lawful monarch, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, under which he covered the crimes of an uſurper.

Sir William Temple ſays, that Cromwell, before his death, was deſirous to unite with Spain againſt France; and, with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh forces, to obtain Calais, as he had Dunkirk by the aſſiſtance of the French. Such a deſign was, indeed, agreeable to his character and policy; and he would have rendered himſelf the idol of the people of England, by thus depriving of their principal towns, one after the other, two nations, which were equally hated by his own. But death put a ſtop to his great deſigns, his tyranny, and the grandeur of England.

It is remarkable, that the whole court of France went into mourning for Cromwell, except Ma-

demoiſelle, who was the only perſon that did not pay this reſpect to the memory of the man who had murdered a king that was her relation.

Richard Cromwell ſucceeded peaceably, and without oppoſition, to the protectorſhip of his father, in the ſame manner as a prince of Wales would have ſucceeded to a king of England.

Richard ſhewed, that the fate of a ſtate may frequently depend upon the character of a ſingle man. His diſpoſition was quite different from that of Oliver Cromwell. He had all the gentleneſs of the ſocial virtues, and none of that intrepid ferocity, which ſacrifices all things to its own intereſt. He might have preſerved the inheritance which his father's labour had obtained, if he would have put to death three or four of the principal officers in the army, who oppoſed his elevation: but he rather choſe to reſign the government, than reign by committing aſſaſſinations. He retired and lived privately, and in a manner unknown, to the age of 90 years, in a country, of which, for a few days, he had been the ſovereign. Immediately after his reſignation of the protectorſhip, he went into France: and it is known, that, at Montpellier, the prince of Conti, brother to the great Conde, happening one day to converſe with him, without knowing him, ſaid: *Oliver Cromwell was a great man; but his ſon Richard was a wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes.* Nevertheleſs, Richard lived happily, which his father never had done.

Some time before this, France beheld a yet more remarkable example of the contempt of royalty.

Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, came to Paris. She was a young queen, who was regarded with admiration, for having, at the age of twenty-ſeven years, renounced a ſovereignty of which ſhe was worthy, for the ſake of freedom and tranquillity. It is ſcandalous in the proteſtant writers to have ſaid, without the leaſt foundation, that ſhe reſigned her crown, only becauſe ſhe was unable to preſerve it any longer. She had conceived the deſign at the age of twenty years, and waited ſeven years to bring it to maturity. Such a reſolution, ſo ſuperior to vulgar ideas, and which ſhe had ſo long meditated, ought to ſilence thoſe who reproach her with fickleneſs, and an involuntary abdication. One of theſe reproaches does indeed deſtroy the other: but the actions of great ſouls are always ſure to be attacked by little minds.

To diſcover the peculiar genius of this queen, we need only read her letters. In that which ſhe wrote to Chanut, formerly embaſſador to her from France, ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "I have poſ-"ſeſſed without vanity or oſtentation; and I reſign "with chearfulneſs: therefore, have no fears about "me; for my happineſs is above the power of "fortune." To the prince of Conde ſhe wrote in theſe terms: "I think myſelf as much honoured "in your eſteem, as by the crown which I have "worn. If, after having reſigned it, you think "me leſs worthy of it, I will then confeſs, that the "repoſe I have ſo ardently deſired, coſts me dear: "but I ſhall not, however, repent the having pur-"chaſed it, even at the expence of a crown; nor "will ever diſgrace an action, which to me appear-

" ed ſo laudable, by a mean and weak repentance;
" and if you ſhould condemn me, all that I can
" offer in my juſtification, is, that I ſhould not
" have diſregarded the favours which fortune had
" ſhowered upon me, had I thought them neceſ-
" ſary to my happineſs; and that I might have
" pretended even to the empire of the world, if I
" could have been as certain to ſucceed, or die in
" the attempt, as the great Conde."

Such was the genius of this ſingular perſonage; and ſuch was her ſtile in writing French, though ſhe had ſeldom ſpoken it. She underſtood eight languages: ſhe had been the friend and diſciple of Deſcartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having been unable to obtain ſo much as a penſion in France, where his works were even prohibited, only for the good things which they contained. She had drawn all thoſe ingenious perſons of the age into Sweden, who could in any manner contribute to her information. The chagrin of not finding any ſuch among her own ſubjects, had given her a diſguſt againſt reigning over a people who were mere ſoldiers. She thought it better to live with men who cultivated their rational faculties, than to command over thoſe who were illiterate, and without genius. She had ſtudied all the ſciences in a climate where they were then unknown. Her deſign was to retire into the centre of them in Italy; and ſhe came into France only in her way thither; for the arts had then made but little progreſs among us. Her taſte determined her to fix at Rome; and, with this deſign, ſhe quitted the Lutheran religion for the Catholic: ſhe was indifferent with regard to either, and made no

ſcruple to conform in appearance, to the ſentiments of the people with whom ſhe intended to paſs her life. She reſigned her crown in 1654. and publicly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inſpruck. She was well received by the court of France, though there was not a woman in it with a genius equal to her own. The king ſaw her, and paid her great honours; but he ſcarce ſpoke to her: for, being brought up in ignorance, the good ſenſe with which he was born, rendered him timid.

Moſt of the women, and others of the court, could perceive nothing farther in this philoſophical queen, than that her head was not dreſſed in the French faſhion, and that ſhe danced ill. The moſt ſenſible people condemned her only for the murder of Monaldeſchi, her gentleman uſher, whom, in a ſecond journey which ſhe made to Paris, ſhe cauſed to be aſſaſſinated at Fontainebleau. Whatever might have been his crime with regard to her, as ſhe had renounced her throne, ſhe had no longer any right to do herſelf juſtice in this manner. It was not a queen that puniſhed a crime againſt the ſtate, but a woman who finiſhed an amour by a murder. The ſhame and cruelty of this action tarniſhed that philoſophy which had made her reſign her crown. In England ſhe would have been puniſhed; but, in France, this inſult on the king's authority, againſt the laws of nations, and againſt humanity, was paſſed over in ſilence.

After the death of Cromwell, and the depoſition of his ſon, England for the ſpace of a year, was in the confuſion of anarchy. Charles Guſta-

vus, on whom Chriſtina had conferred the crown of Sweden, rendered himſelf formidable in the North, and in Germany. The Emperor Ferdinand had died in 1657. and his ſon Leopold, aged 17 years, who was king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been elected king of the Romans in his father's life-time. Mazarin was deſirous to make Lewis XIV. emperor: but the deſign was chimerical; as it would be neceſſary either to force or corrupt the electors: and France was neither rich enough to purchaſe the empire, nor ſtrong enough to obtain it by force. Accordingly, the firſt overtures made at Frankfort by the marſhal de Grammont and Lionne were rejected as ſoon as propoſed. Leopold was elected: and all that Mazarin's policy could effect, was the concluſion of a league with the German princes, for the obſervation of the treaties of Munſter, and to curb the emperor's authority over the empire.

France, after the battle of Dunes, was powerful abroad, by the glory of its arms, and by the bad condition of the other European powers: but, at home it was exhauſted of money, and ſtood in need of peace.

The inhabitants of the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe have ſcarce ever any intereſt in the wars of their ſovereigns. Mercenary armies, raiſed by the order of a miniſter, and commanded by a general who blindly obeys him, often make ſeveral ruinous campaigns, while the kings, in whoſe names they fight, conceive not the leaſt hope, or even deſign, to deprive one another of their dominions. The victors, though they are at ever ſo much expence, never gain any thing of the vanquiſhed: in the good

or ill ſucceſs of their arms they are equally ſufferers; and peace is almoſt as neceſſary to them after the moſt ſignal victory, as when their enemies have taken their frontier towns.

Two things were neceſſary to be done by the cardinal to crown his miniſtry with ſucceſs; and theſe were to conclude a peace, and to ſecure the tranquillity of the ſtate, by marrying the king. After the campaign of Dunkirk, this prince had been taken ſo dangerouſly ill, that they were in great fears for his life. The cardinal, who was not beloved by the king's brother, in this danger, took the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure his immenſe riches, and his retreat. On all theſe conſiderations he determined to have Lewis XIV. married immediately. Two matches offered, the daughter of the king of Spain, and the princeſs of Savoy: but the king's affections were engaged another way: he was paſſionately in love with Mademoiſelle Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces: and as he was born with a tender heart, and a firmneſs in his reſolutions, having alſo an high ſpirit, and being without experience, it was more than probable he might reſolve to marry his miſtreſs.

Madam de Motteville, who was the favourite of the queen-mother, and whoſe memoirs have a great air of truth, pretends, that Mazarin was tempted to favour the king's paſſion, in hopes to place his niece upon the throne. He had before married another niece to the prince of Conti, and another to the duke de Mercoeur; and ſhe with whom Lewis XIV. was enamoured, had been demanded in marriage by the king of England. Theſe were all ſo

many titles which might juſtify his ambition. He contrived artfully to found the queen-mother on this head: *I am afraid*, ſaid he to her, *that the king's paſſion will hurry him on to marry my niece.* The queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the miniſter, perceived, that in his heart, he wiſhed what he pretended to fear: and ſhe anſwered him with the dignity of a princeſs of the Auſtrian blood, who was the daughter, wife, and mother of kings; and with the indignation with which ſhe had for ſome time been inſpired by this miniſter, who affected no longer to depend upon her: *If the king was capable of committing ſo diſhonourable an action, I would put myſelf, and my ſecond ſon, at the head of the whole nation, againſt you and the king.*

Mazarin, it is ſaid, never pardoned the queen for making this reply: but his prudence determined him to conform to her ſentiments; and he aſſumed to himſelf a kind of honour and merit from oppoſing the paſſion of Lewis XIV. though, indeed, his power did not want ſupport from a queen of his own blood: beſides, he feared the character of his niece; and therefore concluded he ſhould eſtabliſh his power more firmly, by flying from the dangerous glory of raiſing his houſe to too great a degree of elevation.

He had ſent Lionne into Spain, in the year 1656. to ſolicit peace, and demand the infanta in marriage for the king; but Don Lewis de Haro, being perſuaded that France was altogether as weak as Spain, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the king of Spain's daughter by his firſt marriage, was deſigned for young Leopold. The king of Spain, at the time of his ſecond mar-

riage, had only one ſon, whoſe unhealthy infancy endangered his life. It was therefore determined, that the infanta, who might probably become the heireſs of ſuch great domains, ſhould carry her right into the houſe of Auſtria, and not into the houſe of an enemy. But at laſt Philip IV. having another ſon, Don Philip Proſper, and his wife being again with child, the danger of giving the infanta to the king of France appeared leſs imminent, and the battle of Dunes rendered peace in a manner neceſſary.

The Spaniards promiſed the infanta, and demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis met in the iſle of Pheaſants, upon the frontiers of France and Spain: but though the marriage of a king of France, and a general peace, were the object of their conferences, yet above a month was ſpent in adjuſting the difficulties which aroſe in regard to precedency, and other ceremonies. Cardinals conſidered themſelves as equal in dignity to kings, and ſuperior to leſſer ſovereigns: and France pretended, with the greateſt appearance of juſtice, to a pre-eminence over other kings: nevertheleſs, Don Lewis de Haro inſiſted on an equality between himſelf and the cardinal, and between France and Spain.

The conferences continued four months; and Mazarin and Don Lewis diſplayed the utmoſt ſtrength of their policy. The cardinal's conſiſted in cunning, Don Lewis's in circumſpection. The latter ſcarce ever ſaid any thing; and what the former ſaid was always equivocal. The genius of the Italian miniſter diſplayed itſelf in wanting to gain advantage by ſurpriſe, and that of the Spaniard in

avoiding being ſurpriſed. It is pretended Don Lewis ſaid of the cardinal, *he is guilty of a great error in politics, in that he always ſtudies how to deceive.*

Such is the vicliſſitude of all human affairs, that not even two articles now ſubſiſt of this famous Pyrenean treaty. The king of France retained Rouſillon, which he always would have done without this peace. In regard to Flanders, the Spaniſh monarchy no longer poſſeſſes any thing there. We were at that time neceſſarily the friends of Portugal; but now we are ſo no longer. All things are changed. And if Don Lewis de Haro then ſaid, the cardinal could deceive, we have ourſelves ſince found, that he could foreſee. He had long meditated an alliance between France and Spain; as a proof of which that famous letter of his, written during the negotiations of Munſter, is cited. "If the moſt Chriſtian king could obtain the "Low-Countries and Franche-Comte, as a dowry "with the infanta, then, notwithſtanding any re- "nunciation ſhe may be obliged to make, we "might aſpire to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; nor "would this be a very diſtant expectation, as there "is only the life of the prince her brother that can "exclude her from it." This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

The cardinal was palpably deceived in ſuppoſing, that the Low Countries and Franche-Comte might be given in marriage with the infanta: for not even a ſingle town was ſtipulated as her dowry. On the contrary, a reſtitution was made to the Spaniſh monarchy of ſeveral conſiderable towns, which had been conquered; as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and others. Some of theſe towns alſo

were retained. The cardinal was not miſtaken in imagining the renunciation would one day be uſeleſs; but then thoſe, who attribute honour to him for this prediction, do alſo make him foreſee, that prince Balthazar would die in 1649.; that, afterwards, his three children, by his ſecond marriage, would all die in their infancy; that Charles, the fifth of all theſe male children, would die without poſterity; and that this Auſtrian king would one day make a will in favour of a grandſon of Lewis XIV. Mazarin, however, did foreſee the conſequence of renunciations, in caſe the male poſterity of Philip IV. ſhould become extinct; and the reaſonableneſs of his conjectures was juſtified by very ſtrange events, which happened more than fifty years after.

It being probable, that Maria-Thereſa would have thoſe towns for her dowry, which were given up by France, ſhe, by her marriage-contract, had only five hundred thouſand crowns, though the expence of receiving her upon the frontiers coſt the king a larger ſum. Theſe five hundred thouſand crowns, which were then equal to two millions five hundred thouſand livres, were, nevertheleſs, the ſubject of great diſputes between the two miniſters; and all that France received at laſt, amounted to no more than one hundred thouſand franks.

This marriage was ſo far from bringing any other preſent or real advantage, beſides that of peace, that the infanta renounced all her right which ſhe might ever have to any of her father's dominions. And this renounciation was ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by Lewis XIV. who alſo cauſed it to be regiſtred in the parliament.

These renunciations, and these five hundred thousand crowns, seem to be the ordinary conditions of marriage between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on these conditions: and when Isabella, the daughter of Henry IV. was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, no more was stipulated for her dowry than five hundred thousand crowns, of which he never received any part: so that it does not appear there was then any advantage in these grand matches; and the daughters of kings were married to kings, having scarce a necessary nuptial present.

Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, of whom France and Spain had great cause to complain, or, rather, who had himself great reason to complain of them, was comprised in this treaty; but he was included as an unfortunate prince, whom they punished because he could not make himself respected. France restored him his territories, but demolished Nancy, and forbad him to have any forces. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to get the prince of Conde pardoned, and again received into favour, by threatening to give him the sovereignty of Rocroi, Catalet, and other places of which he was in possession. And thus France gained these towns, and recovered the great Conde, both together. Conde had lost his post of grand-master of the king's household, and returned destitute of every thing but glory.

Charles II. titular king of England, who was then more unfortunate than the duke of Lorrain, came within a small distance of the Pyrenees, where this peace was negotiating; and implored

the aſſiſtance of Don Lewis and Mazarin. He flattered himſelf, that their maſters, who were his couſin-germans, being reconciled, would at laſt dare to revenge what ought to be regarded by all ſovereigns as their common cauſe; more eſpecially as Cromwell was now no more: but he could not ſo much as obtain an interview, either with Mazarin or Don Lewis. Lockhart, the embaſſador of Cromwell, was at St. John de Luz, and made himſelf ſtill reſpected even after the protector's death; for the two miniſters, through fear leſt they ſhould offend this embaſſador, refuſed to ſee Charles II.

They thought his reſtoration impoſſible; and that all the Engliſh parties, though divided among themſelves, would unanimouſly agree never again to acknowlege kings. But they were both miſtaken; for fortune, a few months after, did that which theſe two miniſters might have had the glory of undertaking. Charles was recalled into his dominions by the Engliſh; and not a ſingle potentate of Europe ever endeavoured to prevent the father's murder, or favour the reſtoration of his ſon. He was received at Dover by twenty thouſand of his ſubjects, who fell upon their knees before him: and I have been told by ſome old men, who were of this number, that hardly any of thoſe who were preſent could refrain from tears. Perhaps there never was ſo tender a ſcene between a king and his people, or a more ſudden revolution. It was over in much leſs time than was employed in the concluſion of the Pyrenean treaty; and Charles II. was in peaceable poſſeſſion of England, before Lewis XIV. was married even by proxy.

Mazarin at laſt returned to Paris, with the king

and the new queen. A father, who ſhould have married his ſon without ſuffering him to partake of his patrimony, would not have done otherwiſe than Mazarin did upon this occaſion: he returned more powerful, and more jealous of his power, and even of his honour, than ever. He no longer gave precedency to the princes of the blood, as formerly; and he, who had treated Don Lewis de Haro as his equal, now treated the great Conde as his inferior. He appeared, upon all occaſions, with the grandeur and pomp of royalty, having, beſides his other guards, a company of foot, which is now the king's ſecond company of muſqueteers. Acceſs to him was no longer free and open; and if any one was ſo bad a courtier, as to beg a favour of the king, he was ruined. The queen-mother, who had ſo long been the obſtinate protectreſs of Mazarin againſt France, was deprived of her power as ſoon as he found he had no longer any occaſion for her. The king her ſon, being brought up in a blind ſubmiſſion to the miniſter, was unable to ſhake off that yoke which ſhe had impoſed both upon him and herſelf. She repented what ſhe had done; and Lewis XIV. while the cardinal lived, dared not to reign.

A miniſter is excuſable for the evil which he does, when the government is forced into his hands by a tempeſt; but, in a calm, he is culpable for not doing all the good which he might have done. Mazarin did ſervice only to himſelf, either directly, or in his family. Eight years of abſolute power, and undiſturbed repoſe, from the time of his [illegible] to that of his death, were not diſtinguiſhed by any glorious or uſeful eſtabliſhment: for the colle[illegible] of

the four nations was the effect only of his laſt will. He governed the finances like the intendant of a lord that was greatly indebted to him.

The king ſometimes demanded money of Fouquet, whoſe anſwer was this: *Sire, there is none in your majeſty's coffers; but the cardinal will lend you ſome.* Mazarin had amaſſed near two hundred millions of our preſent money. And we find it affirmed in ſeveral memoirs, that he gained part of it by ſuch means as were beneath the dignity of his place. We are told by theſe writers, that he ſhared the profits ariſing from prizes taken by privateers. This, however, was never proved; yet the Hollanders ſuſpected him of it; and they would never have ſuſpected cardinal Richelieu.

It is ſaid, that, at his death he had ſome ſcruples, though he affected an appearance of courage. He was at leaſt under apprehenſions for his riches, of which he made an intire donation to the king; hoping, that his majeſty would reſtore them to him. And in this he was not deceived; for the king returned him the donation at the end of three days. At laſt, however, the cardinal died; and none but the king ſeemed to regret his loſs; for this prince had already learned to diſſemble. The yoke began to be inſupportable to him; and he was impatient to reign. Nevertheleſs, he affected to appear grieved at that death which put him in poſſeſſion of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and the court, appeared in mourning for the death of Mazarin; an honour that was not common, though Henry IV. had ſhewn it to the memory of Gabriel d'Etrees.

We ſhall not here enter into an examination,

whether the cardinal was a great miniſter, or not: his actions will declare what he was; and poſterity muſt form their judgment from them. But we cannot refrain from combating the opinion, which ſuppoſes prodigious abilities, and a genius almoſt divine, in thoſe who have governed empires with ſome degree of ſucceſs. It is not a ſuperior penetration that makes ſtateſmen; it is their character. Mankind, however inconſiderable their ſhare of ſenſe may be, all ſee their own intereſts nearly alike. A citizen of Bern or Amſterdam, in this reſpect, is equal to Sejanus, Ximines, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin; but our conduct, and our enterprizes, depend abſolutely on our natural diſpoſitions, and our ſucceſs depends upon fortune.

For example: Were Rochelle to have been taken by a genius like pope Alexander VI. or Borgia his ſon, he would, under the ſanction of the moſt ſacred oath, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there put them to death. Mazarin would have got poſſeſſion of the place two or three years later, by corrupting the inhabitants, and ſowing diſcord among them. Don Lewis de Haro would not have riſked the hazard of an attempt. Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander, raiſed a dike or bank croſs the ſea, and entered Rochelle like a conqueror: but had the ſea been a little more turbulent, or the Engliſh a little more diligent, Rochelle might have been ſaved, and Richelieu called raſh and inconſiderate.

We may judge of the characters of mankind from their enterprizes: and we may, without ſcruple, affirm, that pride and revenge were predominant in the ſoul of Richelieu; and that Mazarin was pru-

dent, artful, and greedy of riches. But, to diſcover the degree of genius in a miniſter, it is neceſſary either to hear him often ſpeak, or to read his writings. What we daily ſee among courtiers in general, often happens among miniſters: he, who has the greateſt genius, frequently fails; while he, whoſe character is diſtinguiſhed by a greater degree of patience, fortitude, tractableneſs, and conſideration, generally ſucceeds.

In reading the letters of cardinal Mazarin, and the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, it may eaſily be perceived, that de Retz was the ſuperior genius. Yet Mazarin was all-powerful, and de Retz was proſcribed. In ſhort, it is certain, that frequently, to make a powerful miniſter, nothing more is neceſſary than an indifferent genius, common ſenſe, and good fortune: but, to make a good miniſter, the ruling paſſion ſhould be, a love of the public good. The truly great ſtateſman is he who leaves behind him immortal monuments of the ſervice he did to his country.

CHAPTER VI.

Lewis XIV. governs alone. He forces the Spaniſh-Auſtrian branch to give him the precedency, and the court of Rome to make him ſatisfaction. He purchaſes Dunkirk. He aſſiſts the Emperor, Portugal, and the States general; and renders his kingdom flouriſhing and formidable.

THERE never was in any court a greater variety of hopes, and intrigues than when cardinal Mazarin approached his laſt moments. The ladies, who had any claim to extraordinary charms, flattered themſelves with the hopes of governing a prince of twenty-two years of age, whom love had already ſo far ſeduced, as to make him offer his crown to his miſtreſs. The young courtiers hoped to ſee the reign of favourites revived; and every particular miniſter was in expectation of being placed at the head of affairs; for no one imagined, that a king, brought up in ignorance of every thing which concerned the buſineſs of the ſtate, would dare to take upon him the weight of government. Mazarin had ſtudied to prolong the infancy of this monarch. It was very late before he inſtructed him; and did it at laſt only, becauſe the king inſiſted upon it.

People were ſo far from any hope or expectation of being governed by their ſovereign, that,

among all thoſe who had acted under the firſt miniſter, there were none who aſked the king, when he would hear them: on the contrary, the univerſal queſtion to him was, *To whom muſt we addreſs ourſelves?* to which Lewis XIV. conſtantly replied, *To me:* and the ſurpriſe was increaſed, when it appeared, that he perſevered in this reſolution. He had, for ſome time, conſidered his abilities, and had ſecretly made trial of his genius for government. When he had once taken a reſolution, he always perſevered in it to the laſt moment of his life. He preſcribed to each of his miniſters the extent of their power; made them give him an account of all their proceedings, at ſtated times; repoſed in them ſuch a confidence, as was neceſſary to give a ſanction to their miniſtry; and kept a watchful eye over them, that they might not abuſe their truſts, He began his reign, by regulating the finances, which were greatly diſordered by a long courſe of rapine.

Diſcipline was reſtored among the troops, as well as order in the finances: magnificence and decency adorned his court: brilliancy and grandeur appeared even in its pleaſures: all the arts were encouraged; and all contributed to the glory of the king, and of France.

This is not the proper place to repreſent him in his private life, nor in the interior part of his government: we ſhall conſider theſe in another place. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that his people, who, ſince the death of Henry the Great, had never beheld a real king, and who deteſted the government of a firſt miniſter, were filled with admiration, and

pleaſing hopes, when they beheld Lewis XIV. doing that at twenty-two years of age, which Henry had done at fifty. If Henry IV. had had a prime miniſter, he would have been ruined; becauſe the hatred which, in a manner, naturally ariſes againſt ſuch a perſon, would have revived a number of too powerful and dangerous factions. If Lewis XIII. had not had a miniſter, ſuch a prince, whoſe weak and diſtempered body enervated the vigour of his mind, would have ſunk under the weight of government. Lewis XIV. might, without danger, either have had, or been without, a prime miniſter: for not the ſmalleſt traces now remained of the former factions; and France now contained only the maſter, and his ſubjects. He, at firſt, ſhewed himſelf ambitious of every kind of glory; and that he would make himſelf as much reſpected abroad, as abſolute at home.

The ancient kings of Europe pretend to an abſolute equality, in regard to one another; which is certainly very juſt and natural; but the kings of France have always claimed a precedency, to which the antiquity of their race and kingdom intitles them: and, if they have ceded the pre-eminence to the emperors, it is, becauſe mankind are ſcarce ever hardy enough to diſpute a right eſtabliſhed by ancient cuſtom. The chief of the German republic, who is an elective prince, of inconſiderable power in himſelf, has, without diſpute, the precedency of all the other European ſovereigns, on account of his title of Caeſar, and Charlemagne's heir. His German chancery did not even give the other potentates the title of majeſty. Nevertheleſs, the kings of France might diſpute the precedency with the

emperors; for France was the firſt founder of the true weſtern empire, of which the name only ſubſiſts in Germany. They had, in their favour, not only the ſuperiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage alſo of being deſcended, in a direct line, from ſovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy, ſeveral centuries before any of thoſe houſes, which are now in poſſeſſion of crowns, were arrived at any degree of elevation. They were deſirous, at leaſt, to precede the other potentates of Europe. The title of moſt Chriſtian was alleged in their favour; but Spain, to this title, oppoſed that of Catholic; and, ever ſince Charles V. had had a king of France priſoner at Madrid, the Spaniſh pride had always been very far from relinquiſhing its pretenſions to this rank. The Engliſh, and the Swedes, who do not now allege any of theſe ſurnames, avoid, as much as they can, any acknowlegement of this ſuperiority.

Theſe pretenſions were formerly debated at Rome: the popes, who aſſumed a right to confer kingdoms by their bulls, imagined, with a greater appearance of reaſon, that they had a right to regulate the precedency of crowned heads. This court, where every thing is done with great ceremony, was the tribunal before which theſe vanities of greatneſs were decided. France, when ſhe was more powerful than Spain, had always had the ſuperiority in theſe diſputes; but, after the reign of Charles V. Spain had neglected no opportunity of placing herſelf upon an equality. Their pretenſions remained undetermined: a ſtep more or leſs in a proceſſion, a chair placed near an altar, or oppoſite to a pulpit, were conſidered as triumphs,

and as giving them a right to this pre-eminence. The chimerical point of honour, in theſe things, was at that time, carried to the greateſt exceſs, between crowned heads; as it was alſo in regard to duels between private perſons.

At the entrance of a Swediſh embaſſador into London (*a*), the count d'Eſtrade, the French embaſſador, and the baron de Watteville, the embaſſador of Spain, diſputed the precedency. The Spaniard, by greater liberality, and a more numerous retinue, gained the Engliſh populace in his favour, and the coach-horſes of the French embaſſador were immediately killed: preſently after which, the retinue of the count d'Eſtrade being wounded and diſperſed, the Spaniards proceeded in triumph, with their ſwords drawn.

Lewis XIV. being informed of this inſult, recalled his embaſſador from Madrid; ordered that of Spain to quit France; broke off the conferences, which were ſtill continued in Flanders, concerning the limits; and directed his father-in-law, Philip IV. to be told, that, if he did not acknowlege the ſuperiority of the crown of France, and repair this affront by a ſolemn ſatisfaction, the war ſhould be renewed. Philip IV. was unwilling again to plunge his kingdom into a new war, for the ſake of precedency in an embaſſador; and he therefore ſent the count de Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainbleau, in preſence of all the foreign miniſters that were in France, *That the Spaniſh miniſters ſhould never, for the future, have any diſputes with thoſe of France.* This, indeed, was not a direct acknowlegement of the ſuperiority of France; but

(*a*) 1661.

it was, however, a plain confeſſion of the weakneſs of Spain. This court, which ſtill retained its pride and haughtineſs, long murmured at its humiliation. Several of the Spaniſh miniſters afterwards renewed their ancient pretenſions; and, at Nimegen, they obtained an equality: but Lewis XIV. at the ſame time, by his firmneſs, gained a real ſuperiority in Europe, by making it appear how much he was to be feared.

He had ſcarce concluded this ſmall affair, ſo much to his own honour, when he appeared ſtill greater on an occaſion wherein his glory ſeemed to be leſs intereſted. The youth of France, in the wars which had long been carried on in Italy againſt Spain, had imprinted in the minds of the jealous and circumſpect Italians the idea of an impetuous people. Italy regarded all the nations round her as barbarous, and even the French as barbarians, who, though gayer than the others, were yet more dangerous; and who, in the pleaſures they introduced, ſhewed much contempt, and to their debaucheries added inſult. They were feared in all places, and no-where more than in Rome.

The duke de Crequi, embaſſador to the pope, ſhocked the Italians, by the haughtineſs of his behaviour; and his domeſtics, a ſort of people who imitate their maſters follies as far as they are able, were guilty of the ſame diſorders in Rome, which were committed by our undiſciplined youth in Paris; who, at that time, uſed, every night, to attack the watch appointed for the ſecurity of the city; and imagined, theſe exploits diſtinguiſhed them as men of honour and ſpirit.

Some of the duke de Crequi's ſervants having

taken it into their heads to attack a ſmall company of Corſicans (who are the guards of Rome), they put theſe wretches to flight. The whole body of Corſicans, being enraged at this, and ſecretly animated by Don Mario Chigi, the brother of pope Alexander VII. who hated the duke de Crequi, came, in arms, and beſieged the embaſſador's houſe, fired upon his lady's coach, who was juſt then entering the palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded ſeveral domeſtics (*b*). The duke de Crequi quitted Rome, accuſing the pope's relations, and the pope himſelf, with having favoured this aſſaſſination. The pope deferred making any ſatisfaction, as long as he could, being perſuaded, it was only neceſſary to temporize with the French, and that every thing would de forgotten. At the end of four months, he cauſed a Corſican, and one of the Sbirri, to be hanged; and ordered the governor, who was ſuſpected of having authorized the action, to retire out of Rome. But the pope was, preſently after, in the greateſt conſternation, to hear, that the king menaced Rome with being beſieged; that he had already directed troops to march into Italy; and that the marſhal du Pleſſis-pralin was appointed to command them. The affair, on both ſides, became a national quarrel; and the king was reſolved to make his own ſide reſpected. The pope, before he made the ſatisfaction which was demanded, implored the mediation of all the Catholic princes; and did all that was in his power to animate them againſt Lewis XIV. But the circumſtances of affairs were not favourable to the pope: the Empire

(*b*) Auguſt 20. 1662.

was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was embarraſſed in an unſucceſsful war againſt Portugal.

The court of Rome only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence cited the pope to appear before them; and cauſed Avignon to be ſeized. In former times, Rome would have thundered forth her excommunications againſt theſe violent proceedings; but theſe were diſregarded now, and even ridiculed. It became neceſſary for the pope to ſubmit; and he was forced to baniſh his own brother from Rome; to ſend his nephew, cardinal Chigi, in quality of legate *a latere*, to make the king ſatisfaction; to diſband the Corſican guard; and to erect a pyramid in Rome, with an inſcription, giving an account of the injury, and the reparation. Cardinal Chigi was the firſt legate ever ſent from the court of Rome to beg pardon: they uſed to come to preſcribe laws, and to impoſe tenths. The king did not reſt ſatisfied with tranſient ceremonies, as a ſatisfaction for the inſult he had received, nor with monuments, which were equally vain and impermanent (for he, ſome years after, permitted the demolition of the pyramid): he forced the court of Rome to relinquiſh Caſtro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; and obliged the pope to make the duke of Modena ſatisfaction, in regard to his right to Comaccio: and thus, by this inſult, he gained the real honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

At the ſame time that he thus maintained his dignity, he did not omit to encreaſe his power. His finances, which were excellently managed by Colbert, enabled him to purchaſe Dunkirk and

Mardyke of the king of England, for the ſum of five millions of livres, at twenty-ſix livres and ten ſols the mark (*c*). Charles II. by his prodigality and poverty, incurred the ſhame of ſelling that for money, which had coſt the Engliſh the price of blood. His chancellor Hyde, who was accuſed of having either counſelled or permitted this weak action, was afterwards baniſhed by the parliament of England; which often puniſhes the faults of favourites, and ſometimes even judges its kings.

(*d*) Lewis cauſed thirty thouſand men to work upon the fortifications of Dunkirk, both to the land and ſea ſides; and, between the town and the citadel, a large baſon was formed, capable to contain thirty ſhips of war: ſo that this place became a terror to the Engliſh almoſt as ſoon as they had ſold it.

(*e*) The king ſoon after forced the duke of Lorrain to give up to him the ſtrong town of Marſal. This unfortunate prince, Charles IV. who had gained conſiderable honours in the field, but was weak, inconſtant and imprudent; had entered into a treaty, by which he gave up Lorrain after his death, to the crown of France; upon condition, that the king ſhould permit him to raiſe a million, upon the territories which he thus abandoned to him; and that the princes of the blood of Lorrain ſhould be reputed princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which in vain had the approbation of the parliament of Paris, only proved the cauſe of freſh inconſtancy in the duke of Lorrain; who was afterwards glad to give up Marſal, and ſubmit himſelf intirely to the king's clemency.

Lewis augmented his dominions, even during the

(*c*) October 27. 1662. (*d*) 1663. (*e*) Auguſt 30. 1663.

peace; and kept himſelf always ready for war, by fortifying his frontiers, diſciplining his troops, increaſing their number, and frequently reviewing them.

The Turks were, at that time, very formidable in Europe; and had attacked the emperor of Germany and the Venetians together. Since the reign of Francis I. it has always been the policy of the kings of France to be in alliance with the Turks, both for the ſake of commerce, and to reſtrain the power of the houſe of Auſtria: nevertheleſs, a Chriſtian king could not refuſe the emperor aſſiſtance, when he was in great danger: and, indeed, it is the intereſt of France, that the Turks ſhould harraſs Hungary; but not that they ſhould ſubdue it. And beſides, France, by its treaties with the Empire, was obliged, in honour, to grant its aſſiſtance, when it became neceſſary. France therefore ſent ſix thouſand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligny, the only perſon remaining of the houſe of Coligny, formerly ſo celebrated in our civil wars, and who, perhaps by his courage and virtue, merited as high renown as the celebrated admiral of his name. He had been attached to the great Conde, through friendſhip; and all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could never make him abandon his attachment. He took with him the flower of the French nobility, and, among others, the young la Feuillade, a man who had an enterpriſing genius, and a great deſire of eminence and glory. *(f)* This body of French troops marched into Hungary, to ſerve under Montecuculi, who, at that time, oppoſed the grand viſier Kiuperli,

(f) Auguſt 1664.

and, who afterwards ſerving againſt France, ba-
lanced the reputation even of Turenne. A gre-
battle was fought at St. Gothard, upon the bank
of the Raab, between the emperor's forces and the
Turks; and the French, upon this occaſion, per-
formed prodigies of valour; inſomuch that the
Germans themſelves, who did not like them, could
not refuſe to do them juſtice: but it would not be
doing juſtice to the Germans, to affirm, as has been
done in ſo many books, that the honour of the vic-
tory ought to be aſcribed to the French alone.

The king, at the ſame time that he employed
his power in openly ſuccouring the emperor, and
increaſing the reputation of his arms, alſo employ-
ed his policy in ſecretly ſupporting Portugal a-
gainſt Spain. Mazarin had formally abandoned
the Portugueſe, by the Pyrenean treaty; in which
ſeveral little tacit infractions had been made by the
Spaniards. But the French made one that was
both bold and deciſive: the marſhal de Schom-
berg, who was a foreigner, and a Huguenot, went
into Portugal with four thouſand French troops,
whom he paid with the money of Lewis XIV.
though he pretended to maintain them in the name
of the king of Portugal. Theſe four thouſand
French troops, being joined to the Portugueſe
forces, obtained a complete victory at Villa Vicio-
oſa; which fixed the crown in the houſe of Bra-
ganza: and thus Lewis XIV. already made him-
ſelf regarded as a martial and political prince; and
he was dreaded in Europe, even before he had ac-
tually made war.

It was this policy which, in ſpite of his pro-
miſes, made him avoid joining the few ſhips he

hen had to the fleets of Holland. He had entered nto an alliance with the Dutch in 1662. This epublic, about that time, renewed the war againſt England; the cauſe of which was the vain and idiculous competition for the honour of the flag, nd their rights to the commerce of the Indies. Lewis, with pleaſure, beheld theſe two maritime powers annually ſending out fleets againſt each other, compoſed of more than an hundred men of war, and mutually deſtroying one another, by the moſt obſtinate combats that were ever ſeen; all the fruit of which was only the weakening of both parties. One of theſe engagements laſted during three intire days (g). It was in theſe encounters that Ruyter gained the reputation of being the greateſt naval commander that ever lived. It was he who burnt the fineſt of the Engliſh ſhips, even in their own ports, and within four leagues of London itſelf. He, in ſhort, rendered Holland triumphant on the ſeas, the dominion of which the Engliſh always had before; and whereon Lewis XIV. was, as yet, of no conſequence.

The ſovereignty of the ſeas was, for ſome time, divided between theſe two powers: and the art of building ſhips, and employing them in commerce, and in war, was well known only by them. France, under the miniſtry of Richelieu, thought herſelf powerful at ſea, becauſe, out of about ſixty veſſels, which ſhe computed in her ports, ſhe could put to ſea about thirty; of which only one carried ſeventy guns. Under Mazarin, the few ſhips we had were purchaſed of the Dutch. We were in want of offi-

(g) June 11, 12, 13. 1666.

cers, ſailors, manufactures, and, in ſhort, every thing which is neceſſary in the conſtruction and equipment of ſhipping. The king undertook to repair the ruinous condition of his marine, and to ſupply France with every thing of this kind which it wanted, with incredible diligence. Yet, in 1664. and 1665. while the Engliſh and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred large ſhips of war, Lewis had not then more than fifteen or ſixteen of the loweſt rates, which the duke of Beaufort commanded againſt the Barbary corſairs; and, when the ſtates general preſſed him to join his fleet with theirs, there was only a ſingle fire-ſhip in the port of Breſt, which it was ſhameful to ſend out, and which, nevertheleſs, at the repeated ſolicitations of the Dutch, was ſent to them. But Lewis XIV. uſed his utmoſt efforts to efface the ſhame of this in the moſt ſudden and effectual manner.

He ſuccoured the ſtates more eſſentially and honourably with his land-forces. He ſent them ſix thouſand men, to defend them againſt the biſhop of Munſter, Chriſtopher Bernard van Ghalen, a warlike prelate, and their implacable enemy, who was hired by England, to attack and ravage the territories of the Dutch. But Lewis made them pay dear for his aſſiſtance, and treated them like a powerful perſon, who ſells his protection to opulent merchants. Colbert placed to their accompt not only the pay of theſe troops, but even charged them with the expences of an embaſſy ſent into England, to negotiate their peace with Charles II. Succours were never given with ſo ill a grace, nor received leſs gratefully.

The king, having thus rendered his troops expert

in the art of war, formed new generals in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal; and, having obtained ſatisfaction and reſpect in Rome, he no longer beheld a ſingle potentate whom he had any reaſon to fear. The deva ſtation made in England by the plague, the burning of London, of which the Catholics were unjuſtly accuſed, and the continual prodigality and indigence of Charles II. which were as deſtructive to his affairs as the contagion, or the fire, placed France in perfect ſecurity, with regard to the Engliſh. The emperor had not yet recovered that ſtrength, which he had loſt in his war againſt the Turks: and Philip IV. king of Spain, being in a languiſhing ſtate of body, and his monarchy being as feeble as himſelf, Lewis XIV. was the only great and formidable monarch: and he was young, rich, perfectly well ſerved, implicitly obeyed, and ſhewed an impatience to ſignalize himſelf, and become a conqueror.

CHAPTER VII.

The Conqueſt of FLANDERS.

OPPORTUNITY ſoon preſented itſelf to a king who anxiouſly ſought for it. His father-in-law Philip IV. died. By his firſt wife, who was the ſiſter of Lewis XIII. he had had the princeſs Maria-Thereſa, who was married to Lewis XIV. by which marriage the Spaniſh monarchy at laſt came into the houſe of Bourbon, which had ſo

long been its enemy. By his ſecond marriage with Mary-Anne of Auſtria, he had had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, who was the heir to his crown, and the only one remaining of three male children, of which two had died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended, that Flanders and Franche-Comte, which were provinces of the kingdom of Spain, ought, according to the laws of theſe provinces, to revert to his wife, notwithſtanding her renunciation. Were the cauſes of kings determined by the laws of nations before an impartial tribunal, the affair might have been doubtful.

Lewis directed his pretenſions to be examined by his council, and by the doctors in theology, by whom they were declared inconteſtable; but they were pronounced quite the contrary by the council and confeſſor of Philip the fourth's widow. She had one very ſtrong argument in her favour, which was an expreſs law of Charles V. but very little regard was paid to the laws of Charles V. by the court of France.

One of the pretexts, which were alleged by the king's council, was, that the five hundred thouſand crowns, granted as a dowry with his wife, had never been paid: but they forgot, that the dowry of Henry the fourth's daughter remained ſtill unpaid as well as this. The altercations between France and Spain were commenced in writings, wherein the calculations of a banker, and the arguments of a lawyer, were amply diſplayed; but reaſons of ſtate were the only reaſons to which any regard was paid.

The king, depending more upon his forces than his arguments, marched into Flanders, to the acqui-

ſition of undoubted conqueſts. He was himſelf at the head of thirty-five thouſand men; another body of eight thouſand was ſent towards Dunkirk, and another of four thouſand towards Luxembourgh. Turenne under him, was the general of his army, Colbert had multiplied the reſources neceſſary to defray the expence of theſe troops. Louvois, the new miniſter for military affairs, had made immenſe preparations for the campaign. He diſtributed magazines of all kinds upon the frontiers, and was the firſt who introduced that advantageous method, which the weakneſs of the government had before rendered impracticable, of ſubſiſting the armies by means of magazines. Whatever ſiege the king undertook, or on whatever ſide he turned his arms, ſuccours and ſubſiſtence were always ready, the quarters for the troops marked out, and their marches regulated. Diſcipline, which, by the inflexible auſterity of the miniſter was rendered daily more ſevere, kept all the officers to their duty: and the preſence of a young king, who was the idol of his army, rendered the ſtrictneſs of this duty not only eaſy, but delightful. The military employment began, from that time, to be conſidered as an honour much ſuperior to that of birth. Services, and not families, were regarded; which had ſeldom been obſerved before. By this means, an officer, though of very inconſiderable birth, was encouraged; and, at the ſame time, thoſe of the higheſt rank had no cauſe to complain. The infantry, upon which, ſince the diſuſe of lances, the whole weight of the war had fallen, ſhared in the advantages enjoyed by the cavalry: and the

troops, in general, were inſpired with new courage by the new maxims in the government.

The king being poſſeſſed of a miniſter, and a general, whoſe abilities were equally great; who were both jealous of each other, and who, for that reaſon, ſerved him the better; having alſo an army compoſed of the beſt troops in Europe, and having entered into an alliance with Portugal; he, with all theſe advantages, attacked a province of a kingdom that was depopulated and ruined. He had only his mother-in-law to oppoſe; and ſhe was a weak woman, whoſe unhappy government had rendered the Spaniſh monarchy defenceleſs. Philip the fourth's widow had made her confeſſor, who was a German Jeſuit, named Father Nitard, her prime miniſter. He was as capable to govern the will of his penitent, as he was incapable to govern the ſtate; having none of the qualities of a miniſter, or a prieſt, except pride and ambition. He had the boldneſs one day to tell the duke of Lerma, even before he held the reins of government, *you ought to reſpect me, for I have your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet, every day.* With this haughtineſs, which is ſo oppoſite to true greatneſs of mind, he ſuffered the treaſury to be without money, the fortifications throughout the kingdom to fall into ruin, and the ports to be without ſhips, the troops without diſcipline, deſtitute of officers, ill-paid, and ſtill worſe commanded: and theſe troops were to oppoſe an enemy, which enjoyed all the advantages Spain wanted.

The art of attacking towns, as it is now practiſed, was not then brought to perfection, becauſe the art of fortifying and defending them was not

ſo well underſtood as it is now. The frontiers of Spaniſh Flanders were almoſt without fortifications and gariſons.

Lewis had only to preſent himſelf before them: he entered Charleroi as he would have entered Paris: Ath and Tournay were taken in two days; nor did Furnes, Armentieres, or Courtrai, hold out longer (*a*). He appeared in the trenches before Douai (*b*), and it ſurrendered the next day. Liſle (*c*), the moſt flouriſhing city in all this country, the only one that was well fortified, and which had a gariſon of ſix thouſand men, capitulated after nine days ſiege. The Spaniards had only eight thouſand men to oppoſe the victorious troops; and the rear of this little army was attacked and cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards the marſhal de Crequi (*d*); and the remainder fled under the walls of Mons and Bruſſels, leaving the king a conqueror without fighting.

This campaign being made in the midſt of the greateſt plenty of every thing, and its ſucceſs being ſo ſudden, and ſo eaſy, it appeared rather like a tour made by the court for their diverſion: and pleaſures of every kind, and all the luxury of the table, were then introduced into our armies, even at the very time when diſcipline was improving. The officers did their duty much more exactly, but their conveniencies were much greater than formerly. Marſhal Turenne, for a long time, was ſerved in the field only upon plates of iron. The marſhal d'Humieres was the firſt, who, at the ſiege of Arras, in 1658. was ſerved in ſilver in the trenches, and had ragouts and entremets ſerved

(*a*) July 6. 1667. (*b*) Auguſt 27. (*c*) Auguſt 27. (*d*) Auguſt 31.

up to his table. But, in this campaign of 1667, wherein a young king, who loved grandeur and magnificence, displayed that of his court in the fatigues of war, every one was emulous, in imitation of the royal example, to shew his taste and grandeur, in his table, his dresses, and his equipages. This luxury, which is a certain sign of riches in a great kingdom, and is frequently the cause of ruin in a little state, was nevertheless but inconsiderable, compared to what we have seen since. The king, his generals, and his ministers, went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback; whereas, now, there is not even a captain of horse, nor the secretary of a general officer, who does not go in his post-chaise, more commodiously, and with greater ease, than in making a visit formerly from one part of Paris to another.

The delicacy of the officers did not then prevent them from appearing in the trenches with the security of the helmet and cuiras: of which the king himself gave an example, by going thus into the trenches before Douai and Lisle. This prudent precaution has preserved the lives of many great men. But it has since been too much neglected by young men, who are not over-robust, and who, though effeminate, are full of courage, and seem to be more afraid of fatigue than danger.

The rapidity of these conquests filled Brussels with alarms; and the citizens began to remove their effects to Antwerp. The conquest of all Flanders might have been the work of a single campaign. The king only wanted a sufficient number of troops to garrison the towns which were everywhere ready to open their gates on his approach.

Louvois adviſed his majeſty to put ſtrong gariſons in the towns already taken, and to fortify them. Vauban, one of thoſe great men, and great geniuſes, who appeared in this age for the ſervice of Lewis XIV. was directed to conſtruct theſe fortifications; which he did according to his own new method, which is now become a rule to all good engineers. People were aſtoniſhed to behold towns ſurrounded by works which were almoſt even on a level with the open country. High and menacing fortifications were only ſo much the more expoſed to deſtruction from the artillery; and the more he made them level, the leſs liable they were to be deſtroyed or taken. He conſtructed the citadel of Liſle upon theſe principles. In France, the government of a city had never yet been ſeparated from that of the fortreſs: but an example of this was now given in favour of Vauban, who was the firſt governor of a citadel. We may farther obſerve here, that the firſt plan of fortification, in relievo, which is to be ſeen in the gallery of the Louvre, was of the fortifications of Liſle.

The king haſtened to return, and to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers, and miſtreſſes, and the pleaſure of thoſe entertainments which he gave to his court.

CHAPTER VIII.

The conqueſt of Franche-Comte; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE court was intirely engaged in diverſions at St. Germains, when, in the month of January (*a*), and the ſeverity of winter, the world was aſtoniſhed to behold troops marching on all ſides, ſome one way, ſome another, through the roads of Champagne, in the three biſhopricks. Trains of artillery and ammunition-waggons appeared, under divers pretences, in the roads which lead from Champagne into Burgundy. This part of France was univerſally in motion, yet the cauſe intirely unknown. Strangers, as being intereſted therein, and the courtiers through curioſity, formed various conjectures upon it; Germany was alarmed; but the real motive to all theſe preparations, and theſe irregular marches, was unknown to all the world. Secrecy in a conſpiracy was never better obſerved than in this enterprize of Lewis XIV. who, at laſt, on the ſecond of February, quitted St. Germains, being accompanied by the young duke d'Enguien, ſon of the great Conde, and ſome others of his court; the reſt of the officers being with the troops. He went on horſeback, and, in a very ſhort time, arrived at Dijon: and twenty thouſand men, collected from twenty different places, appeared at the ſame time in France-Comte, a few leagues

(*a*) 1668.

from Beſancon having at their head the great Conde, whoſe principal lieutenant-general was his friend Bouteville-Montmorency, who was become duke of Luxembourg, and who had always been attached to him in his good and bad fortune. Luxembourg had been inſtructed in the art of war under Conde; and, by force of merit, he obliged the king to employ him, though he did not love him.

The true motives to this ſudden and unexpected enterprize were theſe: the prince of Conde was jealous of the glory of Turenne; and Louvois, of his favour with the king: Conde's jealouſy was that of an hero, and Louvois that of a miniſter. The prince, being governor of Burgundy, which joins to Franche-Comte, formed the deſign to make himſelf maſter of that province in the winter, in leſs time than Turenne the ſummer before had conquered French Flanders. He immediately communicated his deſign to Louvois, who entered into it with eagerneſs, in order to have Turenne removed and rendered unneceſſary, and, at the ſame time, to ſerve his maſter.

This province, which was then poor enough with regard to money, but was exceeding fruitful and populous, forty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, was not only called Franche, or free, but really was ſo. The kings of Spain were rather its protectors than its maſters. And though the province belonged to the government of Flanders, it depended but very little upon it. The whole adminiſtration was divided and diſputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comte. The people enjoyed great privileges, and were always

reſpected by the court of Madrid, which paid a deference to a province jealous of its rights, and in the neighbourhood of France. No people ever lived under a more gentle government; nor was any people ever more ſtrongly attached to its ſovereigns. Their love for the houſe of Auſtria continued even for two generations; though this might rather be called the love of their liberties.

In ſhort, Franche-Comte, though poor, was happy; and as it was a kind of republic, it was not without factions: and, notwithſtanding what is ſaid by Peliſſon, force was not the only means uſed to ſubject this province.

Some of the principal inhabitants, by promiſes and preſents, were gained at firſt; particularly, the abbe John de Batteville, the brother of him, who, having inſulted the French embaſſador at London, had, by that outrage, cauſed the humiliation of the Spaniſh-Auſtrian branch. This abbe, who had formerly been an officer, then a Carthuſian, afterwards a Turk, and at laſt an eccleſiaſtic, had the promiſe of grand dean, and other benefices. The governor's nephew, count de St. Amour, was alſo corrupted; nor did the governor himſelf at laſt prove inflexible. Some of the counſellors of their parliament were likewiſe purchaſed at no very conſiderable expence. Theſe ſecret intrigues were no ſooner commenced than they were ſupported by twenty thouſand men; and Beſancon, the capital of the province, was inveſted by the prince of Conde. Luxembourg appeared alſo before Salins; and the next day both theſe places ſurrendered. The only article of capitulation, deſired for the ſurrender of Beſancon, was the preſervation of an holy

ſhrowd, which was very highly revered in that city: and this requeſt was granted them without difficulty. The king arrived at Dijon; and Louvois, who had ſecretly repaired to the frontiers to direct all theſe marches, came to inform him, that theſe two places had been beſieged and taken. The king immediately haſtened to appear, where fortune did every thing in his favour.

He marched in perſon to beſiege Dole, which was reputed ſtrong, and was commanded by the count de Montrevel, who, through a certain greatneſs of ſoul, was faithful to the Spaniards, whom he hated; and to the parliament, which he deſpiſed. His gariſon conſiſted only of four hundred ſoldiers and citizens; and he nevertheleſs dared to make a defence. The trenches, which were not carried on in form, were ſcarce opened, when a croud of young volunteers, who had followed the king, ran to attack the counterſcarp, wherein they made a lodgment. The prince of Conde, whoſe courage was rendered calm and unruffled by age and experience, ſupported them properly, and joined them in their danger, to extricate them out of it. The prince was preſent in all places, accompanied by his ſon; and afterwards came to give an account of every thing to the king, as though he had been an officer who had his fortune to make. The king, in his quarters, rather ſhewed the dignity of a monarch in his court, than any impetuous ardour, which was then not neceſſary. All the ceremonial of St. Germains was obſerved. He had an apartment for his repoſe, his great officers to wait upon him, courſes regularly ſerved to his table, and a draw-

ing-room, all within his tent: nor was the dignity of the throne in any thing laid aſide, except in having his general officers and aids-de-camp dine at his table. He, in the toils of war, did not ſhew the impetuous courage of Francis I. and Henry IV. who ſought all the various ſpecies of danger. He was ſatisfied in not fearing them himſelf, and in engaging all others to precipitate themſelves therein, with ardour, to ſerve him. He entered Dole (*b*) at the end of four days ſiege, and twelve days after his departure from St. Germains: and, in ſhort, in leſs than three weeks all Franche-Comte was ſubjected to him. The council of Spain, being aſtoniſhed and incenſed at the little reſiſtance that was made, wrote to the governor; "That the "king of France, inſtead of going in perſon, might "as well have ſent his laqueys to take poſſeſſion of "the province."

Such good fortune, and ſuch great ambition, rouſed Europe from its lethargy. The emperor began to raiſe troops, and the empire itſelf to appear in motion. The Switzers, who are the neighbours of Franche-Comte, and whoſe ſole good is their liberty, began to tremble for it. The reſt of Flanders was liable to be invaded the enſuing ſpring: and the Dutch, to whom it had always appeared of conſequence to have the French for their friends, dreaded the having them for their neighbours. Spain now had recourſe to theſe very Hollanders, and was, in fact, protected by this little nation, which before it had only deſpiſed, and conſidered as a country of rebels.

Holland was governed by John de Wit, who,

(*b*) February 14. 1668.

at the age of twenty-five, had been elected grand penſionary. He regarded the liberties of his country as much as his perſonal grandeur: agreeable to the frugality and modeſty of his republic, he had only one man and one maid-ſervant, and upon all occaſions, walked on foot through the ſtreets of the Hague, while, in the negotiations of Europe, his name was numbered with thoſe of the moſt powerful monarchs: he was indefatigable in buſineſs, and ſhewed great order, prudence, and application, in the management of affairs, an excellent citizen, a great politician, yet he was nevertheleſs afterwards very unfortunate.

He contracted a friendſhip, which is uncommon among miniſters of ſtate, with Sir William Temple, the Engliſh embaſſador at the Hague. Temple was a philoſopher, who united buſineſs with literature. Though biſhop Burnet has reproached him with atheiſm, he was a very good man, was born with the genius of a wiſe republican, loved Holland as his own country, becauſe it was free, and was as jealous of its liberties as the grand penſionary himſelf. Theſe two ſtateſmen united with the count de Dhona, the embaſſador of Sweden, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the king of France.

The rapidity of the events, which happened about this period, is what chiefly diſtinguiſhes it. Flanders, which we call *French Flanders*, had been taken in three months, Franche-Comte in three weeks, and the treaty between Holland, England, and Sweden, to preſerve the balance of Europe, and put a ſtop to the ambition of Lewis XIV. was propoſed and concluded in five days.

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Lewis XIV. was filled with indignation, to behold ſuch a little ſtate as Holland forming deſigns to ſet bounds to his conqueſts, and be the arbiter of kings; and his indignation was increaſed, when he found that this little ſtate was able to do this. Such an enterprize of the United provinces was an outrage he could not bear, though he affected to diſregard it; and, from that time, he meditated revenge.

Notwithſtanding his ambition, his power, and his rage, he diſſipated the ſtorm which ſeemed to be riſing in all parts of Europe, by propoſing a peace himſelf. France and Spain fixed upon Aix-la-Chapelle, as the place to hold the conferences; and, for mediator, choſe the new pope, Roſpiglioſi, who was named Clement IX.

The court of Rome, to conceal its real weakneſs under an appearance of credit, ſought, by all manner of means, to have the honour of being the arbiter of Europe; in which deſign it had not been able to ſucceed in the Pyrenean treaty: but it at leaſt appeared to have gained this in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. A nuncio was ſent to the congreſs, to be the ſhadow of an arbiter between the ſhadows of plenipotentiaries. The Hollanders, who had long been jealous of their glory, refuſed to divide the honour of concluding what they had commenced. All the negotiations were really carried on at St. Germains, by means of their embaſſador Van-Beunning. What was privately granted by him was ſent to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be ſigned in form by the miniſters aſſembled at the congreſs. Who would, thirty years before, have imagined, that a citizen of Holland ſhould force France and Spain to receive his mediation?

This Van-Beunning, who was a burgomaſter of

Amſterdam, had the vivacity of a Frenchman, joined to the pride of a Spaniard. He, upon every occaſion, took a pleaſure in ſhocking the imperious grandeur of the king; and, to the tone of ſuperiority, which the miniſters of France began to aſſume, he oppoſed republican inflexibility. *Will you not believe what the king ſays?* ſaid Monſieur de Lionne to him, in a conference. *I do not know what the king will do*, replied Van-Beunning; *but I know what he can do.* In ſhort, a peace was concluded, in an authoritative manner, by a burgomaſter, at the court of the moſt ſuperb of monarchs: by which the king was forced to reſtore Franche-Comte. The Hollanders would have been much better pleaſed, if he had reſtored Flanders, and ſo have delivered them from ſo formidable a neighbour. But all the nations of Europe thought the king ſhewed ſufficient moderation, in relinquiſhing Franche-Comte *(f)*. He, in the mean time, gained more by keeping the towns of Flanders; and he opened the ports of Holland, whoſe deſtruction he meditated at the very time when he ſeemed to comply with all its demands.

CHAPTER IX.

The magnificence of Lewis XIV. The conqueſt of Holland.

LEWIS XIV. compelled, for ſome time, to remain in peace, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, to fortify, and to adorn his kingdom.

(f) May 2. 1668.

He ſhewed, that an abſolute monarch, who is well diſpoſed, may effect every thing. He had only to command, and ſucceſs in the adminiſtration was as rapid as his conqueſts had been. It was really wonderful to behold the ſea-ports, which before were deſerted and in ruins, now ſurrounded by works which were at once both their ornament and their defence; covered alſo with ſhips and mariners, and containing already near ſixty large men of war. New colonies, under the protection of his flag, were ſent from all parts into America, the Eaſt-Indies, and to the coaſts of Africa. In the mean time, many thouſand men were employed in France, under his immediate inſpection, in the conſtruction of immenſe edifices, and in the exerciſe of all thoſe arts which architecture introduces. And, in the interior of his court and capital, the nobler and more ingenious arts acquired France that glory and elegance, of which the preceding ages had not even the idea. Literature flouriſhed. The barbarity of the ſchools was corrected by good ſenſe and good taſte. But a full account of the glory and happineſs of the nation ſhall be given in its proper place in this hiſtory: here we ſhall ſpeak only of general or military affairs.

Portugal, about this time, exhibited an extraordinary ſcene to Europe. Don Alphonſo, who was an unworthy ſon of the happy Don John of Braganza, reigned over that kingdom. He was furious and of a weak judgment. His wife who was a daughter of the duke de Nemours, being in love with Don Pedro, Alphonſo's brother, ſhe formed a deſign to dethrone her huſband, and eſpouſe her lover. Her huſband's barbarity juſtified the auda-

ciouſneſs of this attempt. His ſtrength of body was more than common. He had publicly kept a miſtreſs, by whom he had had a child, which he acknowleged: and he had long cohabited with the queen. She, nevertheleſs, accuſed him of impotence; and having, by her prudent conduct, obtained that authority in the kingdom which her huſband had loſt by his furious behaviour, ſhe cauſed him to be confined; after which ſhe ſoon obtained a bull from Rome to eſpouſe her brother-in-law. It is not ſurpriſing, that Rome ſhould grant this bull; but it is ſo, that thoſe who were all-powerful ſhould, nevertheleſs, have occaſion for it. This event, which only cauſed a revolution in the royal family, and not in the kingdom of Portugal, producing no change in the affairs of Europe, deſerves our notice in this place only for its ſingularity.

France, ſoon after (*a*), received a king, who quitted his throne in a different manner. John Caſimir, king of Poland, renewed the example of queen Chriſtina. Wearied by the fatigues and perplexities of government, and deſirous to live in a happy tranquillity, he choſe a retreat at Paris, in the abbey of St. Germains, of which he was abbot. Paris, which, for ſome years, had been the ſeat of all the arts, was a delightful reſidence to a king, who ſought the ſweets of ſociety, and was a lover of learning. He had been a Jeſuit, and a cardinal, before he was a king; and, being equally diſguſted with royalty and the church, he now ſought only to live in a philoſophical retirement, and would never permit the title of majeſty to be given him at Paris.

(*a*) September 1668.

But a more intereſting affair, at this time, commanded the attention of all the Chriſtian princes.

The Turks, leſs formidable indeed than under the Mahomets, the Selims, and the Solimans, but ſtill dangerous and formidable through our diviſions, had, for two years, beſieged Candy with all the forces of their empire. And it is hard to ſay which was moſt aſtoniſhing, the long and vigorous defence made by the Venetians, or their being abandoned by the other potentates of Europe.

The times were greatly changed. Formerly when Chriſtendom was in a ſtate of barbarity, a pope, or even a monk, could engage millions of Chriſtians to go and combat the Mahometans in their own empire; and the nations of Europe were exhauſted both of men and money, for the conqueſt of the wretched and barren province of Judaea: but now, though the iſle of Candy, which was reputed the bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, was overpowered by ſixty thouſand Turks; yet the powers of Europe regarded the loſs with indifference. The gallies of Malta, and a few of the pope's, were the only force which defended this republic againſt the Ottoman empire. The ſenate of Venice, whoſe impotence was as great as its wiſdom, was unable, with mercenary troops, and ſuch weak aſſiſtance, to reſiſt the grand viſier Kiuperli, who was a good miniſter, and a better general; was maſter of the Turkiſh empire, at the head of formidable forces; and even had good engineers.

The king, in vain, ſet the other powers of Europe an example for the relief of Candy. His gallies, and the new ſhips which he had juſt built in the port of Toulon, ſailed thither with ſeven

thouſand men, under the command of the duke de Beaufort; but this ſuccour was inſufficient in ſo imminent a danger, becauſe this generoſity of the French was not imitated by any other nation in Europe.

La Feuillade, a private gentleman of France, performed an action upon this occaſion, of which there was no example but in the times of chivalry. He brought near three hundred gentlemen to the relief of Candy, at his own expence, though he was not rich. Had any other nation of Europe given a ſupply equal to this ſent by Feuillade, it is probable Candy would have been ſaved. But this ſuccour only ſerved to retard the taking of it ſome days, and to be the cauſe of unneceſſary bloodſhed. The duke of Beaufort was ſlain in a ſally; and Kiuperli at laſt *(b)*, by capitulation, entered the place, which was now no better than a heap of ruins.

The Turks, in this ſiege, ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the Chriſtians even in the knowlege of the military art. The largeſt cannons, which had yet been ſeen in Europe, were caſt in their camp. They, for the firſt time, drew parallel lines in the trenches; and we are obliged to them for the knowlege of this; but they were themſelves indebted for it to an Italian engineer. It is certain, that ſuch conquerors as the Turks, who had experience, courage, riches, and that conſtancy in fatigues, which was then their diſtinguiſhed character, might have conquered Italy, and made themſelves maſters of Rome in a very ſhort time. But the weak emperors which they had afterwards, their bad generals, and

(b) September 16, 1669.

the error of their government, have been the ſecurity of Chriſtendom.

The king, being but little affected by theſe diſtant revolutions, matured his great deſign of a conqueſt of the Low Countries, which he intended to commence by that of Holland. The opportunity grew daily more favourable. This little republic ruled upon the ſeas; but nothing could be weaker by land. Being allied with Spain and England, and in peace with France, ſhe repoſed too great a confidence in the ſecurity of treaties, and the advantages of an immenſe commerce: in proportion as her naval armaments became diſciplined and invincible, her land-forces were poor and contemptible. Their cavalry was compoſed only of citizens, who never quitted their houſes, and paid men, which they got out of the dregs of the people, to do the duty for them. The infantry was nearly upon the ſame footing. The officers, and even the governors of the fortified towns, were either boys, or the relations of burgomaſters, brought up in inactivity and inexperience, and regarding their poſts in the ſame light in which prieſts regard their benefices. The penſioner John de Witt uſed his endeavours to correct theſe abuſes; but he did not act with ſufficient vigour and reſolution; which was one of the great faults of this republican.

The firſt thing neceſſary to be done, was to detach England from its alliance with Holland. The United provinces being once deprived of this ſupport, their deſtruction appeared inevitable. Lewis XIV. did not find it difficult to engage Charles II. in his deſigns. The Engliſh king had not, indeed, ſhewn himſelf very ſenſible of the diſhonour

which his reign and nation had received, in the burning of his ſhips, even in the Thames, by the Dutch fleet. He breathed neither revenge nor conqueſts: his paſſion was rather to enjoy his pleaſures, and reign with a power leſs conſtrained: and to flatter this diſpoſition, therefore, was the moſt effectual way to ſeduce him. Lewis, who, to have money, then needed only to ſpeak, promiſed a great ſum to king Charles, who could never get any without the conſent of his parliament. The ſecret treaty, concluded between the two kings, was imparted, in France, only to *Madame*, the ſiſter of Charles II. and wife of *Monſieur*, the king's only brother, to Turenne, and to Louvois.

A princeſs, of twenty-ſix years of age, was the plenipotentiary for the concluſion of this treaty with king Charles. The pretence for her going into England was a tour, which the king determined to make, in his new conqueſts, towards Dunkirk and Liſle. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient kings of Aſia did not equal the ſplendor of this tour: the king was preceded, or followed, by thirty thouſand men, ſome of which were deſtined to reinforce the garriſons in the conquered countries, others to work upon the fortifications, and others to level the roads. The king took with him the queen his wife, and all the princeſſes, and moſt beautiful ladies in his court. *Madame* ſhone in the midſt of them; and her heart was elated with the pleaſure, and the glory, of all this preparation, which was made only upon her account. The journey appeared to be one continued entertainment from Saint Germains to Liſle.

The king, who was desirous to gain the affections of his new subjects, and deceive the attention of his neighbours, was every where profuse in his liberalities; and gold and diamonds were lavished upon all, who had the least pretence to the honour of speaking to the monarch. The princess Henrietta embarked at Calais, to see her brother, who was at Canterbury to receive her: and Charles, being seduced by his friendship for his sister, and the money of France, signed every thing Lewis XIV. desired; and prepared the destruction of Holland, in the midst of diversions and entertainments.

The loss of Madame, who died suddenly, and in an extraordinary manner, soon after her return, raised some suspicions prejudicial to Monsieur; but they caused no change in the resolutions of the two kings. The spoils of the republic, which was to be destroyed, were already divided, by the secret treaty, between the courts of France and England, in the same manner as Flanders had been divided with the Dutch in 1635. Thus projects, allies, and enemies, are perpetually changing, and great designs are frequently rendered vain and delusive. A rumour of the approaching enterprize began to be spread; but Europe listened to it in silence. The emperor being employed in quelling the seditions of Hungary, Sweden immersed in negotiations, and Spain being always weak, irresolute, and slow; a free and unlimited career was given to the ambition of Lewis XIV.

Holland, to complete its misfortune, was divided into two factions; one, of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of despotic power appeared a monster, contrary to the laws of humanity:

he other, of moderate republicans, who were for einſtating, in the poſts of his anceſtors, the young rince of Orange, who became afterwards ſo cele- rated, under the name of William the Third. The grand penſionary John de Witt, and Cornelius his brother, were at the head of the rigid partiſans of liberty; but the party of the young prince began to prevail: and the republic, being thus more en- gaged in its domeſtic diſſenſions, than attentive to its danger, contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchaſed the king of England, but alſo gained the elector of Cologne, and Van- Ghalen biſhop of Munſter, who thirſted for wars, was greedy of ſpoils, and was naturally an enemy to the Hollanders. Lewis had formerly aſſiſted them againſt this biſhop; but now he united with him for their deſtruction. Sweden, which had joined the Dutch in 1668. to put a ſtop to pro- greſſes which did not concern her, now, when they were menaced with ruin, abandoned them; and re- newed her ancient alliance with France, in conſi- deration of the uſual ſubſidies.

It is ſingular, and deſerves to be remarked, that, among all the enemies, which were going to fall upon this little ſtate, there was not one who could allege any pretence for a war. The enterprize might, indeed, be juſtly compared to the league between Lewis XII. the emperor Maximilian, and the king of Spain, who had formerly planned the deſtruction of the Venetian republic; becauſe it was rich and proud.

The ſtates-general, in a great conſternation, wrote to the king, humbly intreating his majeſty to tell

them, whether the great preparations he was making were really deſtined againſt them, his ancient and faithful allies? wherein they had offended him? and what reparation he required? He replied, "That he ſhould employ his troops in ſuch a "manner as his dignity might demand, which did "not require him to give an account of it to any "one." All the reaſon given by his miniſter was, that the Dutch gazette had been too inſolent; and becauſe Van-Beunning was ſaid to have ſtruck a medal, injurious to Lewis XIV. Van-Beunning's chriſtened name was Joſhua. A taſte for mottos and devices prevailed at that time in France. The ſun had been given as a device to Lewis XIV. with theſe words, *Nec pluribus impar*. It was ſaid, that Van-Beunning had cauſed himſelf to be repreſented, with a ſun, and theſe words for a motto, *In conſpectu meo ſtetit ſol: The ſun ſtood ſtill at my appearance*. But this medal never really exiſted. The ſtates had, indeed, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, in which they had expreſſed all the glorious atchievements of the republic: *Aſſertis legibus, emendatis ſacris, adjutis, defenſis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, ſtabilita orbis Europae quiete: The laws eſtabliſhed, religion amended, kings ſuccoured, defended, and reconciled, the liberty of the ſeas aſſerted, and the peace of Europe ſettled.*

In reality, they boaſted of nothing which they had not done: nevertheleſs, they cauſed this medal to be deſtroyed, to appeaſe Lewis XIV.

The king of England, on his ſide, reproached them with diſreſpect, becauſe their fleet had not lowered its flag before an Engliſh ſhip: and they were alſo accuſed in regard to a certain picture,

wherein Cornelius de Witt, the brother of the penſionary, was painted with the attributes of a conqueror. Ships were repreſented, in the back ground of the piece, either taken or burnt. Cornelius de Witt, who had really had a great ſhare in the maritime exploits againſt England, had permitted this trifling memorial of his glory: but the picture, which was in a manner unknown, was depoſited in a chamber wherein ſcarce any body ever entered. The Engliſh miniſters, who preſented the complaints of their king againſt Holland, in writing, therein mentioned certain *abuſive pictures*. The ſtates, who always tranſlated the memorials of embaſſadors into French, having rendered *abuſive*, by the word *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, they replied, that they did not know what theſe *rogueiſh pictures* (*ces tableaux trompeurs*) were. In reality, it never in the leaſt entered into their thoughts, that it concerned this portrait of one of their citizens, nor did they ever conceive this could be a pretence for declaring war.

All that human prudence and ambition is capable of contriving for the deſtruction of a nation, was prepared by Lewis XIV. And we have no example, in all hiſtory, of ſuch formidable preparations for ſo inconſiderable an enterprize: for, among all the conquerors who have ſubjected any part of the world, no one ever began his conqueſts with ſo many regular troops, nor ſo much money, as were employed by Lewis XIV. to ſubject this little ſtate of the United provinces. Fifty millions, which makes ninety-ſeven millions of the preſent French money, were expended in the preparations. Thirty

ſhips of fifty guns joined the Engliſh fleet of an hundred ſail. The king, with his brother, appeared upon the frontiers of Spaniſh Flanders and Holland, near Maeſtricht and Charleroy, at the head of upwards of one hundred and twelve thouſand men. The biſhop of Munſter, and the elector of Cologne, had near twenty thouſand. The generals of the king's army were Conde and Turenne; Luxembourg commanded under them: Vauban was to conduct the ſieges. Louvois appeared in all places, with his uſual vigilance. A finer, and, at the ſame time, a better diſciplined army, had never been ſeen. In particular, the king's houſhold troops, as newly reformed, made a moſt gallant appearance. They were compoſed of four troops of life-guards, each containing three hundred gentlemen; among whom there were many young *cadets*, without pay, ſubject, with the reſt, to the regular duty of the ſervice: two hundred light horſe, two hundred gendarmes, five hundred muſqueteers; all choſen gentlemen, in the flower of their youth; twelve companies of gendarmerie, which were afterwards augmented to ſixteen; even the hundred Switzers accompanied the king, and his regiments of French and Switzers mounted guard before his houſe, or before his tent. Theſe troops, which, in general, were covered with gold and ſilver, were, at once, an object both of terror and admiration, in the eyes of a people to whom magnificence of every kind was entirely unknown. A diſcipline, more ſtrict than formerly, had introduced new order among the troops. There were, as yet, no inſpectors of the cavalry and infantry, which we have ſince had. Two perſons only were

appointed to do this ſervice. Martinet, at that time, brought the infantry under the diſcipline in which it ſtill continues: the chevalier de Fourilles did the ſame thing in the cavalry. Martinet, about a year before, had introduced the bayonet into ſome few regiments; before which time, it had never been uſed in a general and uniform manner. This laſt effort of military invention, which, perhaps, is the moſt terrible of all others, though known before, was but little practiſed; becauſe the uſe of pikes, as yet, prevailed. He alſo modeled the conſtruction of copper boats, which might be eaſily tranſported from one place to another, upon carriages, or upon mules. The king with all theſe advantages, being certain of the increaſe of his glory and power, carried with him an hiſtorian, to write a relation of his victories: this was Peliſſon, whoſe genius enabled him to write well, but did not prevent him from flattering his hero. We ſhall ſay more of him in the article concerning the fine arts.

Againſt Turenne, Conde, Luxembourg, Vauban, an hundred and thirty thouſand ſoldiers, a prodigious train of artillery, and plenty of money, with which attempts were made to corrupt the fidelity of the governors of the enemy's towns, all that Holland had to oppoſe was a young prince of a weak conſtitution, who had never ſeen a ſiege, nor a battle, and about twenty-five thouſand bad ſoldiers, who conſtituted the whole guard of the country. Prince William of Orange, aged twenty-two years, had been elected captain-general of the land forces, by the almoſt unanimous voice of the nation: and John de Witt had conſented to it

through neceſſity. The prince of Orange, under the phlegmatic diſpoſition of a Dutchman, had a ſtrong ambition, and an ardent thirſt of glory, which afterwards appeared upon all occaſions in his conduct, but never in his converſation. His temper was cold and ſevere, though his parts were quick, active, and penetrating: his courage, which was undaunted, made his body, which was weak and languiſhing, ſupport fatigues that were ſuperior to his ſtrength. He was courageous without oſtentation, ambitious without pride, born with a phlegmatic obſtinacy proper to combat adverſity, fond of buſineſs and war, unacquainted with the pleaſures attendant upon greatneſs, or even thoſe annexed to humanity; and, in ſhort, almoſt in every thing, the reverſe of Lewis XIV.

He was at firſt unable to make any oppoſition to the torrent which burſt in upon his country; his forces were too inconſiderable, and even his power limited by the ſtates. The French army fell ſuddenly upon Holland, which none would ſuccour. The imprudent duke of Lorrain, who attempted to raiſe forces, and join his fortunes to thoſe of this republic, beheld the whole province of Lorrain ſeized by the French troops, with the ſame facility that Avignon is ſeized, when the French are at variance with the pope.

In the mean time, the king cauſed his troops to advance towards the Rhine, in thoſe provinces which border upon Holland, Cologn, and Flanders. He diſtributed money in all the villages, to repair the damages which might be done by his troops: and if any gentleman of the neighbourhood came to make complaints, he was ſure to receive a preſent. A per-

ſon being ſent from the governor of the Low Countries, to make complaints concerning ſome diſorders committed by the troops, the king, with his own hands, gave him his portrait, enriched with diamonds, valued at more than twelve thouſand franks. Such a behaviour drew upon him the admiration of the people, and increaſed the dread of his power.

The king was at the head of his houſhold troops, and others which were eſteemed the choiceſt of his forces, to the number of thirty thouſand men; which Turenne commanded under him. The prince of Conde had the command of another army as ſtrong as this. The other troops, ſometimes commanded by Luxembourg, and ſometimes by Chamilli, were to compoſe ſeparate armies, as occaſion might require, or to join theſe, if neceſſary. The operations were commenced by the ſiege of four towns at once, whoſe names, were it not upon this occaſion, would not deſerve to be mentioned in hiſtory: theſe towns were Rhinberg, Orſoi, Weſel, and Burick; and they were taken almoſt as ſoon as inveſted. Rhinberg, which the king intended to beſiege in perſon, did not wait the firing of a ſingle cannon; for, to be the more certain of taking it, the lieutenant of the place, who was an Iriſhman, named Doſſary, had been corrupted; and, after being guilty of the baſeneſs to ſell himſelf, had the imprudence to retire to Maeſtricht, where the prince of Orange puniſhed him with death.

All thoſe towns, which bordered upon the Rhine and the Iſſel, ſurrendered. Some of the governors ſent their keys, upon a diſtant appearance only of one or two ſquadrons of French troops; ſeveral officers fled out of the towns in which they were in

gariſon, even before the enemy appeared; and the conſternation was general. The prince of Orange had not troops ſufficient to appear in the field. All Holland expected to be ſubdued, as ſoon as the king ſhould have paſſed the Rhine. The prince of Orange, in haſte, cauſed lines to be drawn on the other ſide of that river; and, after they were finiſhed, perceived the impoſſibility of keeping them. All, therefore, they now wanted to know, was, where the French would form their bridge of boats, in order, if poſſible to prevent their paſſage. The king's real deſign was to paſs the river over a bridge compoſed of thoſe little copper boats invented by Martinet. Some of the people of the country, upon this occaſion, told the prince of Conde, that the dryneſs of the ſeaſon had rendered a branch of the Rhine fordable, oppoſite to an old tower, which was uſed as a kind of cuſtom or toll-houſe, and was called by the Dutch *toll-huis*. The king ordered the place to be ſounded by the count de Guiche. According to Peliſſon's letters, who was an eye-witneſs; it was found there were not more than forty or fifty paces in the middle of the river, in this part, that required ſwimming. This was conſidered as nothing, becauſe the horſe would interrupt the current, which, beſides, was far from being rapid. The paſſage therefore was eaſy, and, on the other ſide, there were only four or five hundred cavalry, and two weak regiments of infantry, without any cannon. The French artillery fired upon theſe forces in flank, while the king's houſhold troops, and the beſt of the cavalry, croſſed without any danger, to the number of about fifteen thouſand. The prince of Conde appeared by the ſide of them,

during the paſſage, in one of the copper boats. The Dutch cavalry, having ſcarce made a faint attempt to oppoſe, inſtantly fled before the multitude which was coming after them. Their infantry, alſo laid down their arms, and begged for quarter. No lives were loſt in the paſſage, except ſome of the cavalry, who, having intoxicated themſelves with drinking, did not take care to keep in the fordable part; and not a ſingle perſon would have been killed, had it not been for the imprudence of the young duke de Longueville *(c)*. It is ſaid, that, his head being filled with the fumes of wine, he fired a piſtol upon thoſe of the enemy, who begged their lives upon their knees, crying out to them, *No quarters to ſuch ſcoundrels*. The ſhot killed one of their officers; upon which the Dutch infantry, in deſpair, inſtantly retook to their arms, and made a diſcharge, by which the duke de Longueville was killed. A captain of horſe, named Oſſembrouk, who had not fled with the others, ran up to the prince of Conde, who, having croſſed the river, was then mounting his horſe, and clapped his piſtol to his head. The prince, by a ſudden movement, changed the direction of the ſhot, which wounded him in the wriſt; and this was the only wound the prince of Conde ever received in all his campaigns. The French, being enraged at this, put all the infantry to the ſword which had taken to flight. Lewis XIV. paſſed the river with his army upon a bridge of boats.

Such was this peculiar and extraordinary paſſage of the Rhine, which was celebrated then as one of thoſe great actions which muſt for ever remain me-

(c) June 12. 1672.

morable to mankind. That air of grandeur with which the king dignified all his actions, the rapidneſs of his conqueſts, the ſplendor of his reign, the adoration of his courtiers, and, finally, the diſpoſition which the people, and more eſpecially the Pariſians, have to exaggeration, joined to that ignorance of war which is univerſal in great cities, made this paſſage of the Rhine be regarded at Paris as a prodigy. The notion of it, which generally prevailed, was, that all the forces had paſſed this river by ſwimming, in preſence of an army which was intrenched on the other ſide, and amidſt the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortreſs called the *Tholus*. It is certain, this paſſage was regarded by the enemy as almoſt impoſſible; and, indeed, if they had had a ſtrong body of good troops on the other ſide, the attempt might have been very dangerous.

As ſoon as the troops had paſſed the Rhine, they took Doeſbourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Norembourg, Nimegen, Skenk, Bommel, Crevecoeur, etc. and there were but few hours in the day wherein the king did not receive an account of ſome conqueſt. An officer, named Mazel, made this requeſt to Turenne: "If you will ſend me "about fifty horſe, I can with them take two or "three towns."

Utrecht ſent its keys, and capitulated, together with all the province which bears its name. Lewis made his triumphal entry into that city, being attended by his grand almoner, his confeſſor, and the titular biſhop of Utrecht. The great church was given up to the Catholics with great ſolemnity; and the biſhop, who had only poſſeſſed the vain

nd empty title, was, for ſome time, eſtabliſhed in real dignity. The religion of Lewis XIV. made conqueſts as well as his arms; by which, in the opinion of the Catholics, he gained a right to Holland.

The provinces of Utrecht, Overiſſel, and Guilders, were ſubjected; and Amſterdam expected the moment of its ſlavery or ruin was at hand. The Jews, eſtabliſhed in it, were earneſt in offering to Gourville, the intendant and friend of the prince of Conde, two millions of florins, to ſecure themſelves from being plundered.

Naerden, in the neighbourhood of Amſterdam, was already taken. Four only of the cavalry, who went out a marauding, advanced as far as the gates of Muiden, where the ſluices are, which may be opened to drown the country, and which is only one league from Amſterdam. The magiſtrates of Muiden, being under the greateſt dread and conſternation, came and preſented their keys to theſe four ſoldiers; but, at laſt, obſerving the reſt of the troops did not come up, they took back their keys, and ſhut their gates. A moment's diligence would have put the king in poſſeſſion of Amſterdam: and this capital being once taken, not only the republic would have periſhed, but the nation of Holland would no more have exiſted, and even the land itſelf would ſoon have diſappeared. The richeſt families, and thoſe who were moſt deſirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The ſhips capable to make this voyage were numbered, and a calculation made of how many they could imbark; and it was found,

that fifty thouſand families might take refuge in their new country. The Dutch would no longer have exiſted but in the moſt diſtant part of the East-Indies; and theſe European provinces which ſubſiſt only by their Aſian riches, their commerce, and, if a Frenchman may ſay ſo, by their liberty, would, on a ſudden, have been ruined and depopulated. Amſterdam, which is the warehouſe and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thouſand men, would preſently have become only one vaſt lake. All the adjacent lands require immenſe expence, and many thouſands of men, to raiſe and maintain their banks: and they would probably at once have wanted the ſupport both of men and money, and would at laſt have been overwhelmed by the ſea, leaving Lewis XIV. only the wretched glory of having deſtroyed one of the fineſt and moſt extraordinary monuments of human induſtry.

The diſtreſſes of the ſtate were increaſed by the diviſions which commonly ariſe among unhappy people, who endeavour to caſt the blame of public calamities upon one another. The grand penſionary de Witt thought the remainder of his country could be ſaved only by begging peace of the conqueror. De Witt, being both a ſtrong republican, and jealous of his own particular authority, was always more afraid of the prince of Orange's elevation than of the conqueſts of the king of France: he had even made this prince ſwear to obſerve a perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the dignity of ſtadtholder. The ſpirit of party, honour, intereſt and authority, all excited de Witt to take care, that this oath was obſerved; and he

therefore rather choſe to ſee his republic ſubjected by a victorious king, than under the dominion of a ſtadtholder.

On the other ſide, the prince of Orange, being as much attached to his country, more ambitious than de Witt, more patient under the public calamities, and hoping every thing from time, and the obſtinacy of his perſeverance, was ardent in his endeavours to prevent a peace, and to obtain the ſtadtholderſhip. And though the ſtates reſolved to ſue for peace in ſpite of the prince, yet the prince was elevated to the dignity of ſtadtholder in ſpite of the de Witts.

Four deputies came to the king's camp, to implore his clemency in the name of a republic, which, ſix months before, had thought itſelf the arbitrator between kings. The deputies were not received by the miniſters of Lewis XIV. with that politeneſs ſo peculiar to the French, who, even in the ſeverity of government, retain their civility and complaiſance. Louvois, who was proud and moroſe, and more capable to ſerve his maſter well, than to render him beloved, received theſe ſuppliants with haughtineſs, and even with the inſult of raillery. They were made to return ſeveral different times: but at laſt the king ordered his determination to be declared to them; which was, that the ſtates ſhould give up to him all they poſſeſſed on the other ſide of the Rhine, comprehending Nimigen, together with ſeveral other towns and forts in the heart of their territories: that they ſhould pay him twenty millions: that the French ſhould be maſters of all the great roads of Holland both by land and

water, without paying toll: that the Catholic religion ſhould be every-where reſtored: that the republic ſhould every year ſend an embaſſador extraordinary to France with a gold medal, whereon ſhould be engraved an acknowlegement, that they held their liberties of Lewis XIV. and, finally, that they ſhould alſo make ſatisfaction to the king of England, and the princes of the empire, particularly thoſe of Cologn and Munſter, by whom Holland ſtill continued to be ravaged.

Theſe conditions of a peace, which approached ſo near to ſlavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inſpired the vanquiſhed with a deſperate courage. The Dutch reſolved to die in defence of their liberty. The hearts and the hopes of the nation were all turned upon the prince of Orange. The people became enraged againſt the grand penſionary, who had ſued for peace; and their ſeditious fury ſoon joined the deſigns and animoſity of the prince's party. An attempt was immediately made againſt the life of the grand penſionary John de Witt; and Cornelius his brother, being afterwards accuſed of an attempt againſt the prince's life, was put to the rack; and, in his torments, recited the firſt lines of this ode of Horace, *Juſtum & tenacem:* which was applicable to the condition he was then in, and to his courage; and which, for the ſake of thoſe who do not underſtand Latin, is thus tranſlated:

The man, in conſcious virtue bold,
Who dares his ſecret purpoſe hold,
Unſhaken hears the crowd's tumultuous cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow deſies.

FRANCIS's HORACE.

At laſt, (*d*) the unruly populace maſſacred the two brothers in the Hague: one of whom had governed the ſtate for nineteen years with great integrity, and the other ſignally ſerved it with his ſword. All thoſe violences were committed upon their bleeding bodies, of which the fury of an enraged multitude is capable. Such horrid actions are common to all nations; and the French, in particular, have been guilty of them, in regard to the marſhal d'Encre, the admiral Coligny, etc. for the populace is nearly the ſame in all places. The friends of the penſionary were alſo purſued; and even Ruyter himſelf, the admiral of the republic, who was the only one that then fought for her with ſucceſs, beheld himſelf ſurrounded with aſſaſſins in the city of Amſterdam.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders and devaſtations, the magiſtrates manifeſted virtues, which are ſeldom ſeen but in republics. Thoſe of the inhabitants, who were poſſeſſed of bank-notes, ran in crouds to the bank of Amſterdam; and it was apprehended they would lay violent hands upon the public treaſure. Every one was eager to get his money out of the little which it was ſuppoſed there ſtill remained. The magiſtrates opened the cellars where this treaſure was depoſited; and it was found intire, juſt as it had been depoſited ſixty years before: and the ſilver was even ſtill black from the effects of the fire, by which the ſtadthouſe had been conſumed long before. The bank-notes, till now, had conſtantly been negotiated, and this treaſure never touched. But now, thoſe, who inſiſted upon

(*d*) Auguſt 20. 1672.

having their money, were paid out of it. Such diſtinguiſhed good faith, and ſuch great reſources, were then ſo much the more admirable, as Charles the ſecond, king of England, to defray the expences of his pleaſures, and his war againſt the Dutch, not being ſatisfied with the money he got from France, had, juſt at that time, become a bankrupt to his ſubjects. And it was as diſhonourable to this king, thus to violate the public faith, as it was glorious in the magiſtrates of Amſterdam to preſerve it, at a time when a failure might have appeared pardonable.

To this republican virtue they joined that courage of mind, which, for redreſs in irremediable misfortunes, flies to extremes. They cauſed the banks, which kept out the ſea, to be cut; and the country-houſes, which are innumerable about Amſterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring towns, ſuch as Leyden and Delft, were laid under water. The country-people did not repine at ſeeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amſterdam appeared like a vaſt fortreſs in the midſt of the ſea, ſurrounded with ſhips of war, which had depth of water ſufficient to make them be ſtationed round the city. There was the greateſt ſcarcity among the inhabitants; eſpecially of freſh water, which was ſold for ſix-pence a pint: but they conſidered theſe neceſſities as more tolerable than ſlavery. It is worthy the obſervation of poſterity, that Holland, when thus overwhelmed on land, and, as it were, no longer a ſtate, yet continued formidable at ſea; which, indeed, is the true element of this people.

While Lewis XIV. croſſed the Rhine, and ſub-

jected three provinces; admiral Ruyter, with about an hundred ſhips of war, and more than fifty fire-ſhips, went upon the coaſts of England, in ſearch of the fleet of the two kings; whoſe united force had not been able to put to ſea a naval armament ſuperior to that of the republic. The Engliſh and Dutch fought like nations accuſtomed to diſpute the empire of the ocean. The battle, called the Solbay, laſted one intire day (*e*). Ruyter, who firſt gave the ſignal, attacked the ſhip of the Engliſh admiral, in which was the duke of York, the king's brother. The victory, in the engagement between theſe two admirals, was gained by Ruyter. The duke of York, being obliged to change his ſhip, did not again appear before the admiral of Holland. The thirty French ſhips had very little ſhare in the action; and the conſequence of this engagement was, that the coaſts of Holland were rendered ſecure.

After this, Ruyter, notwithſtanding the fears, and the oppoſition of his countrymen, brought the fleet of India merchantmen into the Texel; and thus, on one ſide, defended and enriched his country, while, on the other, it was deſtroyed. The Dutch even continued their commerce; and no flags but theirs were ſeen in the Indian ſeas. A conſul of France one day telling the king of Perſia, that Lewis XIV. had conquered almoſt all Holland; *How can that be?* replied the Perſian monarch; *ſince for one French ſhip in the port of Ormus, there are always twenty Dutch.*

The prince of Orange, in the mean time, had the ambition of ſhewing himſelf a good citizen.

(*e*) June 7. 1672.

He offered the ſtate the revenue of his poſts, and his whole fortune for the defence of liberty. He covered with inundations all thoſe paſſages through which the French might penetrate into the reſt of the country. By the quickneſs and ſecrecy of his negotiations he rouſed the emperor, the empire, the council of Spain, and the governor of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even diſpoſed England towards peace. To conclude, the king had entered Holland in the month of May, and, in July, all Europe began to conſpire againſt him.

Monteroy, governor of Flanders, ſecretly cauſed ſome regiments to march to the relief of the United provinces. The council of the emperor Leopold ſent Montecuculi, at the head of near twenty thouſand men; and the elector of Brandenbourg, who had twenty-five thouſand ſoldiers in his pay, marched with them under his command.

As no more conqueſts could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, the king now quitted his army (*f*). The preſervation of the conquered provinces was difficult, and Lewis was for keeping a certain glory. Satisfied with having taken ſo many towns in two months, he returned to St. Germains in the midſt of ſummer; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to complete the war, he enjoyed the glory of his triumph. Monuments of his conqueſts were erected, while the powers of Europe were labouring to deprive him of them.

(*f*) July 1672.

CHAPTER X.

The evacuation of Holland; and the ſecond conqueſt of Franche-Comte.

WE think it neceſſary here to remind thoſe who may read this work, that it is not merely a narrative of campaigns, but rather an hiſtory of the manners of men. There are books enough which contain all the minute particulars of martial exploits, and relations of human madneſs and miſery. The deſign of this eſſay is to paint the principal characters in theſe revolutions, and to exclude the multitude of little facts, in order to ſhew only thoſe which are conſiderable, and (if that can be done) the ſpirit by which they are conducted.

France was then at the height of its glory. The name of its generals imprinted veneration. Its miniſters were regarded as geniuſes ſuperior to the counſellors of other princes; and Lewis ſeemed to be the ſole king in Europe. In reality, the emperor Leopold never appeared perſonally in his armies. Charles II. king of Spain, ſon of Philip IV. was as yet in his infancy; and the king of England never ſhewed any activity but in his pleaſures.

All theſe princes, and their miniſters, were guilty of great faults. England acted contrary to the true maxims of ſtate-policy, in uniting with France

for the elevation of a power, which it was rather her intereſt to humble.

The emperor, the empire, and the council of Spain, were yet more to blame, in not immediately oppoſing the torrent. But, however, Lewis XIV. was guilty of an error as great as all theirs, in not purſuing ſuch eaſy conqueſts with ſufficient rapidity. Conde and Turenne were for demoliſhing moſt of the Dutch towns; ſaying, that ſtates were not ſubjected by gariſons, but by armies; and that having preſerved only one or two places for a retreat, the troops ought to march with the utmoſt rapidity, to complete the conqueſt. Louvois, on the contrary, was every-where for having fortifications and gariſons. This was his humour; and it was alſo the king's. Louvois, by this means, had more employments in his gift, extended the power of his miniſtry, and took a pleaſure in acting contrary to the opinions of the two greateſt generals of the age. Lewis confided in him, and was deceived, as he afterwards confeſſed. He neglected the opportunity he had to enter the capital of Holland; weakened his army by diſtributing it into too many places; and gave his enemy time to take breath. The hiſtory of the greateſt princes is frequently a relation of the univerſal faults of mankind.

After the king's departure, affairs began to put on a different aſpect. Turenne was forced to march towards Weſtphalia, to oppoſe the Imperialiſts. Monterey, the governor of Flanders, without being authorized by the timid council of Spain, reinforced the prince of Orange's little army with about ten thouſand men; which enabled this prince to reſiſt the French till winter, and in a great meaſure to

balance the ſcale of fortune. Winter at laſt arrived, and the inundations of Holland were covered with ice. And now Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, carried on a new kind of war, unknown to the French, and endangered Holland in as terrible a manner as before.

He, one night, aſſembled near twelve thouſand foot ſoldiers from the neighbouring gariſons, for whom ſkaits had been prepared; and, putting himſelf, at their head, he ſkaited with them over the ice towards Leyden and the Hague: but a thaw coming on, it preſerved the Hague; and his army, being ſurrounded with water, unable to get off the ice, and deſtitute of proviſions, was ready to periſh. In order to get back to Utrecht, they were forced to march upon a narrow and muddy bank, which could ſcarce admit four to walk in front. Neither could they get at this bank but by attacking a fort, which, without artillery, ſeemed impregnable. Had this fort ſtopped the army only a ſingle day, it would have been almoſt deſtroyed with hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg was without reſource; but fortune, which had ſaved the Hague, ſaved his army by the cowardice of the commander of this fort, who abandoned his poſt without any reaſon. A thouſand things are done in war, as well as in common life, which are incomprehenſible: and this was certainly of the number. All the fruit of this enterprize was a cruelty which rendered the French completely odious in this country. Bodegrave and Swamerdam, two rich and populous towns, which might be compared to many of our cities of the middle kind, were abandoned to be plundered by the ſoldiers, as a reward for

their fatigues. They ſet theſe two towns on fire; and, by the light of the flames, committed all kinds of cruelty and debauchery. It is aſtoniſhing, that the French ſoldiers ſhould ſhew themſelves ſo barbarous, being commanded by a prodigious number of officers, who had very juſtly acquired the reputation of being truly couragious and humane. The exceſſes they committed were ſo exaggerated by the inhabitants, that I have ſeen Dutch books, above forty years afterwards, wherein children were learned to read, containing a relation of this action, and drawn up with a deſign to inſpire ſucceeding generations with hatred and deteſtation of the French.

(*a*) In the mean time, the king, by his negotiations, influenced the councils of all the European princes. He gained the duke of Hanover. The elector of Brandenbourg, in the beginning of the war, concluded a treaty; but it was ſoon after broken. There were none of the German courts wherein Lewis had not his penſioners. His emiſſaries in Hungary fomented the troubles of that province; which was ſeverely treated by the council of Vienna. Money was laviſhed upon the king of England, to engage him to continue the war againſt Holland, notwithſtanding the univerſal exclamations of the Engliſh nation, which was filled with indignation at being made to ſerve the ambition of Lewis XIV. which on the contrary it wanted to curb. The repoſe of Europe was diſturbed by the arms and negotiations of Lewis; and, at laſt, he could not prevent the emperor, the empire, and Spain, from joining the Dutch, and ſolemnly declaring war againſt him. He had changed the courſe of affairs

(*a*) 1673.

ſo intirely, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become the friends of Spain. The emperor Leopold ſent tardy ſuccours; but he ſhewed great animoſity. It is ſaid, that when he went to ſee the troops at Egra, which he had cauſed to be aſſembled there, he received the communion upon the road, and immediately after took a crucifix in his hand, and called upon God to bear witneſs to the juſtice of his cauſe. There might have been propriety in ſuch an action in the time of the croiſades: but Leopold's prayer did not now prevent the progreſs of the king of France's arms.

It immediately appeared how greatly his marine was improved. Inſtead of thirty ſhips, which had been joined the year before to the Engliſh fleet, now forty were joined, without including the fire-ſhips. The officers had learned the excellent rules of fighting practiſed by the Engliſh, by which they had combated thoſe of their enemies the Dutch. The duke of York, afterwards James the ſecond, was the firſt who invented the art of giving orders at ſea, by means of the various movements of flags. Before that time, the French did not know how to draw up a fleet in order of battle. The whole of their experience conſiſted in fighting one ſhip againſt another: they were unſkilled to make many move in concert, and imitate at ſea the evolutions of land-armies, whoſe ſeveral diviſions mutually ſuccour and ſupport each other. They did what the Romans had done before them, who, in one year's time, learned of the Carthaginians the art of naval combats, and equalled their maſters.

The vice-admiral d'Etree, and Martel his lieu-

tenant, did honour to the military induſtry of the French nation, in three ſucceſſive naval engagements, which happened in the month of June between the Dutch fleet and that of France and England (*b*). Admiral Ruyter was more admired than ever in theſe three actions. D'Etree, in his letter to Colbert, had theſe words: "I would have "loſt my life to have obtained the glory which "Ruyter has acquired." And d'Etree deſerved to be thus ſpoken of by Ruyter. The courage and conduct on both ſides were ſo equal, that the victory always remained undecided.

Lewis, who, by the endeavours of Colbert, made his people ſeamen, by the induſtry of Vauban, rendered the art of war by land ſtill more perfect. He went in perſon to beſiege Maeſtricht, at the ſame time when theſe three naval engagements happened at ſea. Maeſtricht was to him a key to the Low Countries, and the United Provinces. The place was ſtrong, and defended by an intrepid governor, named Farjaux, who was a Frenchman, and had entered into the ſervice of Spain, and afterwards into that of Holland. The gariſon was compoſed of five thouſand men. Vauban, who conducted the ſiege, for the firſt time uſed thoſe parallels, invented by the Italian engineers in the ſervice of the Turks at the ſiege of Candy: and he added to them the places of arms, which are made in the trenches, to draw up the troops in order of battle, and the better to rally them, in caſe of ſallies from the beſieged. Lewis, in this ſiege, ſhewed himſelf more exact and laborious than he had been before. By his example he

(*b*) The 7. 14. and 21. of June 1673.

inured his troops, till then accuſed of a haſty courage, which was ſoon diſſipated by fatigue, to patience in labour. Maeſtricht ſurrendered at the end of eight days (*c*).

He ſhewed a ſeverity which appeared even too great, in order to ſtrengthen and improve his military diſcipline. The prince of Orange, who, to oppoſe his rapid conqueſts, had only officers without emulation, and ſoldiers without courage, made them better by the rigour of his puniſhments; for he cauſed all thoſe who abandoned their poſts to be hanged. The king alſo uſed chaſtiſements. A very brave officer, named Dupas, ſurrendered Naerdin to the prince of Orange, which was the firſt time the king loſt a town (*d*). Indeed, the prince kept it only four days; but the king did not regain it till after an engagement which laſted five hours; which was fought to avoid a general aſſault upon bad fortifications, which a weak and fatigued gariſon would not have been able to ſuſtain. The king, being incenſed at the firſt affront which his arms had received, condemned Dupas to be led through Utrecht, with a ſhovel in his hand, and his ſword to be broken. This was an ignominy, which, perhaps, is unneceſſary with regard to the French officers, who are ſenſible enough of glory, not to be governed by the fear of ſhame. The governors of fortified towns are indeed obliged, by their rules, to ſuſtain three aſſaults; but this is of the number of thoſe laws which are ſeldom obſerved.

The endeavours of the king, the genius of Vau-

(*c*) June 24. 1673. (*d*) Sept. 14. 1673.

ban, the ſtrict vigilance of Louvois, the experience and the great ſkill of Turenne, and the intrepid activity of the prince of Conde, could not all repair the error which had been committed in keeping too many towns, weakening the army, and neglecting the opportunity of entering Amſterdam.

The prince of Conde in vain endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of Holland, when overwhelmed with waters. Turenne could neither prevent the junction of Montecuculi and the prince of Orange, nor hinder the prince of Orange from taking Bonn. The biſhop of Munſter, who had ſworn the deſtruction of the States general, was himſelf attacked by the Dutch (*e*).

The parliament of England forced its king to enter ſeriouſly into negotiations of peace, and ceaſe to be the mercenary inſtrument of the grandeur of France. And now it became neceſſary to abandon the three provinces of Holland, with as much expedition as they had been conquered. But this, however, was not done without their being ranſomed. The intendant Robert drew out of the ſingle province of Utrecht ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand florins in one year. The French were in ſuch a hurry to evacuate the country which they had taken with ſuch rapidity, that twenty-eight thouſand Dutch priſoners were releaſed at a crown a man. The triumphal arch of the gate of St. Denis, and the other monuments of theſe conqueſts, were ſcarce finiſhed, when the conqueſts themſelves were abandoned. The Hollanders, in the courſe of this invaſion, had the glory to diſpute the empire of the ſea, and the addreſs to tranſport the theatre of the

(*e*) Nov. 1673.

war by land out of their own country. Lewis XIV. was regarded, in Europe, as having been too precipitate and preſumptuous in the ſplendor of his tranſitory triumph. The fruits of this enterprize were a bloody war to maintain againſt Spain, the Empire, and Holland, united; the being abandoned by England, and at laſt by Munſter, and even Cologne; and the leaving more hatred than admiration of him, in thoſe territories, the conqueſt of which he was forced to relinquiſh.

The king alone ſuſtained the efforts of all the enemies which he had raiſed againſt himſelf. His power, and the wiſdom of his government, were yet more conſpicuous, when it became neceſſary for him to defend himſelf againſt ſo many united powers, and the greateſt generals, than when he had forced French Flanders, Franche-Comte, and one half of Holland, out of the hands of defenceleſs enemies.

The advantage which an abſolute monarch, whoſe finances are well managed, has over other kings, was more particularly remarkable: he, at one and the ſame time, cauſed an army of about twenty-three thouſand men, to march, under Turenne, againſt the Imperialiſts; and another of forty thouſand, under Conde, againſt the prince of Orange: a conſiderable body of troops was alſo aſſembled upon the frontiers of Rouſillon; and a fleet, filled with ſoldiers, was ſent to carry the war againſt the Spaniards, even as far as Meſſina. He marched himſelf a ſecond time to make himſelf maſter of Franche-Comte; and he every-where defended himſelf, and attacked others at the ſame time.

In this enterprize upon Franche-Comte, the ſuperiority of his government appeared. It was neceſſary for him to gain to his intereſt, or at leaſt to render neuter, the Switzers; a people who are as formidable as they are poor, who are always armed, jealous to the laſt degree of their liberty, invincible upon their own frontiers, and who had begun already to take umbrage at ſeeing Lewis XIV. again in their neighbourhood. The emperor and Spain ſolicited the thirteen cantons to grant, at leaſt, a free paſſage to their troops, for the relief of Franche-Comte; which, through the negligence of the Spaniſh miniſtry, had been left without defence. The king, on his ſide, preſſed the Switzers to refuſe this paſſage. But the Empire and Spain uſing nothing more than arguments and entreaties, the king with a million of money paid down, and a promiſe of ſix hundred thouſand livres, determined the Switzers to do as he deſired; and the paſſage was refuſed. Lewis, accompanied by his brother, and the ſon of the great Conde, beſieged Beſancon. The king loved ſieges, underſtood them perfectly well, and therefore committed the care of the army in the field to Conde and Turenne. But, indeed, he never beſieged a town without being morally certain to take it. Louvois prepared all things ſo effectually, the troops were ſo well furniſhed, and Vauban, who conducted almoſt all the ſieges, was ſo great a maſter in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was in perfect ſecurity. Vauban directed the attacks at Beſancon, which was taken in nine days (*f*); and, at the end of ſix weeks, all Franche-Comte was ſubjected to the

(*f*) May 15, 1674.

king: after which it hath continued under the dominion of France, ſeems to be for ever annexed to it, and remains as a monument of the weakneſs of the Auſtrian-Spaniſh miniſtry, and the ſtrength of that of Lewis XIV.

CHAPTER XI.

The fine campaign, and death of Marſhal de Turenne.

WHILE the king made a rapid conqueſt of Franche-Comte, with that facility and eclat which ſtill attended upon his fortune; Turenne, who only defended the frontiers on the ſide of the Rhine, diſplayed every thing that is greateſt, and moſt conſummate, in the art of war. Men ſhew their abilities by the difficulties they ſurmount; and it was this which gained Turenne ſo high a reputation in this campaign.

He, at firſt, made a long and rapid march, paſſed the Rhine at Philipſbourg (*a*), marched all night to Sintzheim, forced that place, and, at the ſame time, attacked and defeated Caprara, the emperor's general, and the old duke of Lorrain, Charles IV. who had ſpent all his life in loſing his territories, and raiſing troops, and who had lately united his little army with part of the emperor's. Turenne, after having defeated him, purſued him, and again defeated his cavalry at Ladimbourg (*b*); from whence he haſtened to the prince de Bournonville,

(*a*) June 1674. (*b*) July 1674.

another general of the Imperialiſts, who only waited for freſh troops to open himſelf a paſſage into Alſace. Turenne prevented the junction of theſe troops, attacked Bournonville, and forced him to quit the field of battle (*c*).

The empire aſſembled all its forces againſt him: ſeventy thouſand Germans entered Alſace, where they beſieged Briſſac and Philipſbourg. Turenne had not more than twenty thouſand effective men at moſt. The prince of Conde ſent him a ſmall body of cavalry from Flanders; after which he traverſed vaſt mountains covered with ſnow, and, on a ſudden, appeared in upper Alſace, in the midſt of the enemy's quarters, who imagined he was quiet in Lorrain, and thought the campaign was at an end. He defeated thoſe troops which oppoſed him at Mulhauſen (*d*), and took two thouſand priſoners. He then marched to Colmar, where the elector of Brandenbourg, who was called the grand elector, and was then general of the Imperial armies, had his quarters. He arrived juſt at the time when this prince and the other generals were ſitting down to table; ſo that they had only juſt time to eſcape, and the field became covered with fugitives.

Turenne, who thought he had done nothing, ſo long as there remained any thing to do, poſted himſelf near Turkheim (*e*), in order to attack a part of the enemy's infantry. The advantageous ſituation of the poſt which he had choſen rendered his victory certain: he defeated this infantry; and, at laſt, this whole army of ſeventy thouſand men was vanquiſhed and diſperſed even without any conſiderable engagement. Alſace remained to the king,

(*c*) October 1674. (*d*) Dec. 1674. (*e*) Jan. 5. 1675

and the Imperial generals were compelled to repaſs the Rhine.

All theſe ſucceſſive actions, purſued with ſuch perſeverance, conducted with ſo much art, and executed with ſo great expedition, were equally admired by the French and the enemy. The glory of Turenne was even increaſed, when it was known, that every thing he had done, in this campaign, had been againſt the will of the court, and contrary to the repeated orders ſent by Louvois in the king's name. To reſiſt the all-powerful Louvois, and be anſwerable for the conſequence, notwithſtanding the exclamations of the court, the orders of the king, and the hatred of the miniſter, was not the leaſt inſtance of the courage of Turenne, nor the leaſt exploit of the campaign.

It muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe, whoſe humanity was ſuperior to their eſteem of military exploits, lamented the glory of this campaign. It was celebrated as much through the miſeries of the people, as the expeditions of Turenne. After the battle of Sintzheim, he put the Palatinate, which was a fine and fertile country, full of populous towns and villages, to fire and ſword. The elector Palatine, from the top of his caſtle at Manheim, beheld two towns, and five-and-twenty villages in flames; a ſpectacle which at once excited in him both rage and deſpair, and made him challenge Turenne to ſingle combat, by a letter which he ſent to him, filled with reproaches. Turenne having ſent this letter to the king, who commanded him not to accept the challenge, he anſwered the elector's complaints and defiance, only by a vague and inſignificant compliment. It was the ſtile and manner of

Turenne always to expreſs himſelf with moderation and ambiguity.

He, with the ſame indifference, deſtroyed the ovens, and laid waſte part of the country of Alſace, to prevent the enemy from ſubſiſting. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorrain, where they committed ſuch diſorders, that the intendant, who, on his ſide, ruined Lorrain with his pen, frequently wrote and ſent to him, to put a ſtop to theſe exceſſes. Turenne always coldly replied; *I will ſend him an anſwer at a proper time.* He rather choſe to be called the father of the ſoldiers, who were entruſted to him, than of the people; who, according to the laws of war, are always ſacrificed to them. All the miſchief done by him appeared neceſſary: his glory covered every thing: and, beſides, the ſeventy thouſand Germans, which he had prevented from penetrating into France, would have committed a great deal more miſchief there than he had done in Alſace, Lorrain, and the Palatinate.

The prince of Conde, on his ſide, fought a battle in Flanders, which was much more bloody than all theſe actions of the viſcount de Turenne, but was leſs ſucceſsful, and leſs deciſive; either becauſe the ſituation of the places was leſs favourable to him, or becauſe he had not taken his meaſures ſo well; or rather, becauſe he had abler generals, and better troops, to oppoſe. This battle was that of Senef. The marquis de Feuquieres is for having it called only a combat; becauſe the action was not between two armies regularly drawn up, and becauſe all the corps did not act. Nevertheleſs, people are unanimous in calling this ſharp and bloody action a *battle*.

An engagement between three thouſand men, regularly drawn up, all the little corps of which ſhould act, would be only a combat. It is the importance of an action which always determines its name.

The prince of Conde was to keep the field with about forty-five thouſand men, againſt the prince of Orange, who had ſixty thouſand. He waited for the enemy's army to paſs a defile at Senef, near Mons; attacked part of the rear, compoſed of Spaniards; and gained a great advantage. The prince of Orange was blamed for not having taken a ſufficient precaution in the paſſage of the defile; but the manner in which he remedied the diſorder was admired; and Conde was blamed for renewing the combat afterwards, againſt enemies who were too ſecurely intrenched. The engagement was renewed three ſeveral times. The two generals, in this confuſion of errors, and great actions, equally ſignalized their courage, and their preſence of mind. Of all the battles fought by the great Conde, he expoſed his own life and the lives of his ſoldiers more upon this occaſion than any other. He had three horſes killed under him; and was deſirous, after three bloody attacks, to hazard a fourth. It ſeemed, ſays an officer who was preſent, as if the prince of Conde alone was deſirous of fighting. What is moſt extraordinary in this action is, that the troops on both ſides after the bloodieſt and moſt obſtinate conteſts, being ſeized with a panic terror, took to flight in the night; and the next day the two armies retired, each on its own ſide, neither of them having gained the field of battle, or the victory, and both equally weakened and vanquiſhed. There were near ſeven thouſand killed, and five thouſand taken pri-

ſoners, on the ſide of the French; and the loſs of the enemy was nearly the ſame. So much bloodſhed, without any advantage, prevented both armies from undertaking any thing conſiderable: yet it was of ſuch conſequence for the prince of Orange, to give reputation to his arms, that, to make it believed he had gained the victory, he beſieged Oudenarde: but the prince of Conde proved he had not loſt the battle, by cauſing the ſiege to be immediately raiſed, and by purſuing the prince of Orange.

Both France and the allies, upon this occaſion, obſerved the vain ceremony of thankſgiving to heaven for a victory which neither of them had obtained. This practice has been introduced, to encourage the people, whom it is always neceſſary to deceive.

Turenne, in Germany, with a ſmall army, continued thoſe progreſſes which were the effect of his genius. The council of Vienna, no longer daring to truſt the fortune of the empire to princes who had but ill defended it, again placed, at the head of its armies, Montecuculi, who had defeated the Turks in the battle of St. Gothard; and who, in ſpite of Turenne and Conde, had joined the prince of Orange, and ſtopped the ſucceſſes of Lewis XIV. after his conqueſt of three provinces of Holland.

It has been remarked, that the greateſt generals of the empire have frequently been Italians. Italy, in its declenſion and ſlavery, ſtill produces men, who frequently revive the rememberance of what ſhe was of old. Montecuculi was the only man worthy to be oppoſed againſt Turenne. They had both reduced war into an art. They ſpent four months in following and obſerving each other in their marches

and encampments; which were more applauded than victories both by the officers of France and the Empire. Each of them penetrated the other's deſigns, by what he would himſelf have done in the ſame ſituation; and they were never deceived. They oppoſed each other with patience, ſtratagem, and activity; and were at laſt upon the point of coming to an engagement and ſtaking their reputations upon the hazard of a battle, near the village of Saltzbach; when Turenne, in going to chooſe a place whereon to erect a battery, was killed by a cannon-ſhot *(f)*. No one is ignorant of the circumſtances of his death: but we cannot here refrain a review of the principal of them, for the ſame reaſon that they are ſtill talked of every day. It ſeems as if one could not too often repeat, that the ſame bullet which killed him, having ſhot off the arm of Saint Hilaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery, his ſon came and bewailed his misfortune with many tears: but the father looking towards Turenne, ſaid; *It is not I, but that great man who ſhould be lamented.* Theſe words may be compared with the moſt heroic ſayings recorded in all hiſtory; and are the beſt elogy that could be beſtowed upon Turenne. It is uncommon under a deſpotic government, where people are actuated only by their private intereſts, for thoſe who have ſerved their country, to die regretted by the public. Nevertheleſs, Turenne was lamented both by the ſoldiers and people; and Louvois was the only one who rejoiced at his death. The honours which the king ordered to be paid to his memory, are known to every one; and that he was interred

(f) July 27. 1675.

at Saint Denis, in the ſame manner as the conſtable du Gueſclin, above whom he was elevated by the voice of the public, as much as the age of Turenne was ſuperior to the age of the conſtable.

Turenne had not always been ſucceſsful in his wars: he had been defeated at Mariendal, Retel, and Cambray: he had alſo committed errors, and was himſelf ſo great a man as to confeſs them. He never made great and celebrated conqueſts, nor ever gained thoſe great and important victories, by which nations are ſubjected: but having always repaired his defeats, and done a great deal with a little, he was regarded as the greateſt general in Europe, at a time when the art of war was more ſtudied and better underſtood than ever. Moreover, though he was reproached for his infidelity in the wars of the Fronde; though at the age of near ſixty years, love made him reveal the ſecrets of the ſtate; and though he had exerciſed cruelties in the Palatinate, which did not appear neceſſary; yet he had always the happineſs to preſerve the reputation of an honeſt, wiſe, and moderate man; becauſe his virtues, and his great abilities, which were peculiar to himſelf, made thoſe errors and weakneſſes pardonable in him, which he had in common with the reſt of mankind. If he could be compared to any one, we preſume, that, among all the generals of preceding ages, Gonzalvo de Cordova, ſurnamed the great general, is the man whom he moſt reſembled.

He was born a Calviniſt, and changed that religion for the catholic, in 1668. no proteſtant, or even no philoſopher imagined, that perſuaſion alone had made that change in a warrior, or in a politician

of fifty years of age, who, at that very time, had his miſtreſſes. It was well known that Lewis XIV. on making him marſhal-general of his armies, uſed this expreſſion mentioned in the letters of Peliſſon and elſewhere; *I wiſh you would oblige me to do ſomething more for you.* Theſe words (according to them) might in time work a converſion, and the office of conſtable might tempt an ambitious mind. It is poſſible, however, that this converſion was ſincere. It frequently happens, that policy, ambition, the weakneſſes of love, and religious ſentiments, meet together in the human heart. The Catholics, who triumphed on this change, did not believe the great ſoul of Turenne capable of diſſimulation.

What happened in Alſace, immediately after his death, rendered the loſs of him ſtill more ſenſibly felt. Montecuculi, who, by the ſkill of the French general, had been kept three whole months on the other ſide of the Rhine, paſſed that river the moment he was informed he had no longer Turenne to fear. He fell upon a part of the army, which had not yet recovered its conſternation on the loſs of Turenne, under the command of Lorges and Vauban, two lieutenant-generals, who were at variance with each other; and though the troops made a vigorous defence, they could not prevent the Imperialiſts from penetrating into Alſace; which Turenne had always hindered them from entering. The army not only wanted a general to command it, but one alſo who might repair the recent defeat of the marſhal de Crequi, a man of an enterpriſing courage, capable of the greateſt and the raſheſt enterprizes, and dangerous to his coun-

try, as well as to the enemy. He had been vanquiſhed, through his own miſconduct, at Conſarbruck. A body of twenty thouſand Germans, who laid ſiege to Treves, defeated, and cut to pieces, the little army of Crequi; and he with difficulty eſcaped (g) the fourth time: after which, he haſtened through new perils, to throw himſelf into Treves; which he defended with his courage, when he ought rather to have ſuccoured it by his prudence. He was for burying himſelf under the ruins of the place; for after the breach was practicable, he ſtill perſiſted in its defence. But the gariſon mutinied, and captain Bois-jourdan, at the head of them, went to capitulate at the breach. A baſe action was never before ſo audaciouſly committed. He threatened the marſhal with death, if he refuſed to ſign the treaty: but Crequi, with ſome officers who continued faithful to him, retired into the church, and rather choſe to be taken at diſcretion, than to capitulate.

To replace the men which France had loſt in ſo many ſieges and battles, Lewis XIV. was adviſed not to rely, as uſual, upon the recruits out of the militia, but to cauſe the ban and arriere-ban to march.

By an ancient cuſtom, which is now diſuſed, the poſſeſſors of fiefs were obliged to go to the wars, at their own expence, for the ſervice of their ſovereign lord, and to continue in arms a certain number of days. In this ſervice conſiſted the greateſt part of the laws of the nations of Europe, when in a ſtate of barbarity: but now all things are changed; and the moſt inconſiderable ſtate raiſes troops, which

(g) Auguſt 11. 1675.

are conſtantly kept in pay, and are formed into regular diſciplined corps.

Lewis XIII. once convoked the nobleſſe of his kingdom; and Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The nobleſſe, being aſſembled into a corps, marched under the command of the marquis, afterwards the marſhal de Rochefort, to the frontiers of Flanders, and afterwards upon thoſe of Germany: but this corps was neither conſiderable nor uſeful, nor could be rendered ſo. Thoſe gentlemen, who loved war, and were capable of the ſervice, were already officers in the army: thoſe whom age or diſguſt confined, never quitted their abodes; and the others, whoſe ordinary occupation was the cultivation of their eſtates, went, againſt their inclination, to the number of about four thouſand. Nothing could leſs reſemble a military corps: being all mounted and armed differently, without experience, and without diſcipline, unable and unwilling to do regular ſervice, they only cauſed confuſion, and we were diſguſted with them for ever. Theſe were the laſt traces we have ſeen in our regular troops, of that ancient chivalry, which formerly compoſed theſe troops, who, with the courage natural to the nation, never made war in a right manner.

Turenne being dead, Crequi defeated, and a priſoner, Treves taken, and Montecuculi raiſing contributions in Alſace; the king concluded the prince of Conde could alone reanimate the troops, which were diſcouraged by the death of Turenne. Conde therefore left the marſhal de Luxembourg in Flanders, there to ſupport the fortune of France, and

went to ſtop the progreſs of Montecuculi; and his patience now appeared as great as his impetuoſity had done at Senef. His genius, which was equal to every thing, diſplayed the ſame art as Turenne's. By two encampments he ſtopped the progreſs of the German troops, and forced Montecuculi to raiſe the ſieges of Hanau and Saverne. After this campaign, which was leſs brilliant than that of Senef, but more eſteemed, the prince of Conde ceaſed to appear in the wars. He was deſirous to have his ſon command, and offered to be his counſellor; but the king did not chooſe to have either young men or princes to be his generals: and had, even with difficulty, prevailed on himſelf to accept the ſervice of Conde himſelf. Louvois's jealouſy of Turenne had contributed as much as the name of Conde, to place him at the head of the armies.

The prince retired to Chantilli, from whence he very rarely came to Verſailles, to behold his glory eclipſed, in a place where the courtier never regards any thing but favour. He paſſed the remainder of his days, tormented with the gout, relieving the ſeverity of his pains, and employing the leiſure of his retreat, in the converſation of men of genius of all kinds, with which France then abounded. He was worthy of their converſation; as he was not unacquainted with any of thoſe arts or ſciences in which they ſhined. He continued to be admired even in his retreat: but, at laſt, that devouring fire, which, in his youth, had made him an hero, impetuous and full of paſſions, having conſumed the ſtrength of his body, which was naturally rather agile than robuſt, he declined before his time; and the ſtrength of his mind de-

saying with that of his body, there remained nothing of the great Conde, during the two last years of his life: he died in 1680. and Montecuculi retired from the service of the emperor, at the same time when the prince of Conde ceased to command the armies of France.

CHAPTER XII.

From the death of Turenne to the peace of Nimegen, in 1678.

AFTER the death of Turenne, and the retreat of the prince of Conde, the king continued the war against the Empire, Spain, and Holland, with as much success as before. He was served by officers, who had formed themselves under these two great men. He had Louvois, who was of greater service to him than a general; because his foresight enabled the generals to undertake whatever they had a mind. The troops, which had long been victorious, continued to be animated by the same spirit, which the presence of a king, who was constantly successful, always inspires.

In the course of this war, he, in person, took Conde (*a*), Bouchain, (*b*) Valenciennes, (*c*) and Cambray (*d*). He was accused at the siege of Bouchain, of being afraid to give battle to the prince of Orange, who appeared at the head of fifty thousand men, and attempted to throw succours into the place: and

(*a*) April 26. 1676. (*b*) May 11. 1676. (*c*) Mar. 17. 1677. (*d*) April 5. 1677.

the prince of Orange was alſo reproached for not giving battle to Lewis XIV. when he might have done it: for ſuch is the fate of kings, and of generals, that they are always blamed both for what they do, and for what they do not do: but neither the king nor the prince of Orange were blameable. The prince did not give battle though he wiſhed to do it, becauſe Montery, governor of the Low Countries, who was in the army, would not expoſe his government to the hazard of a deciſive event: and as the king did whatever he deſired, and took a town in preſence of his enemy, the glory of the campaign certainly remained with him.

In regard to Valenciennes, it was taken by aſſault, through one of thoſe ſingular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the French nation.

The king, in the carrying on of this ſiege, had with him his brother, and five marſhals of France; which were d'Humieres, Schomberg, la Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The marſhals had each of them their day of command by turns. All the operations were directed by Vauban.

They had not as yet taken any of the outworks of the place. The firſt thing neceſſary to be done, was to attack two half-moons; behind which there was alſo a great crown-work, paliſaded, ſtrengthened with a row of pointed ſtakes, and ſurrounded by a ditch, with ſeveral croſs-ways. In this crown-work there was alſo another work, ſurrounded by another ditch. After the taking of all theſe intrenchments, there was a branch of the Scheld to get over, and then another work, called a pate; behind which ran the great ſtream of the Scheld,

which was deep and rapid, and ſerved as a ditch to the wall. Finally, the wall itſelf was defended by large ramparts; the works in general covered with cannon; and the gariſon conſiſting of three thouſand men, who were prepared with every thing neceſſary to make a long defence.

The king held a council of war for the attack of the outworks. It was uſual always to make theſe attacks in the night, in order to approach the enemy without being perceived, and to ſpare the blood of the ſoldiers. Vauban propoſed to make this attack in the day-time: but all the marſhals of France diſapproved this propoſal; and Louvois condemned it alſo: nevertheleſs, Vauban perſiſted in it, with the confidence of a man who is certain of the reaſonableneſs of what he advances. "You are deſirous, ſaid he, "to ſpare the blood of the ſoldiers: you "will do this moſt effectually by making the attack "in the day-time, when they may fight without "confuſion and diſorder, and without any danger "of their firing upon one another; which happens "but too often in the night. You deſire alſo to "ſurpriſe the enemy, who always expect, and are "prepared for, our attacks in the night: we ſhould "therefore effectually ſurpriſe them by making "the attack in the morning with our freſh troops, "after theirs have been fatigued by watching in "the night. And, beſides, if, among our troops, "there ſhould chance to be ſome whoſe courage is "but inconſiderable, the night favours their timi-"dity; but, in the day, the eye of the monarch "will inſpire courage, and raiſe them above them-"ſelves."

The king was perſuaded by theſe arguments of

Vauban, though they were contrary to the opinions of Louvois, and five marſhals of France.

At nine in the morning, the two companies of muſqueteers, one hundred grenadeers, a battalion of the guards, and one of the regiment of Picardy, mounted, on all ſides, upon this great crown-work. Their orders were only to lodge themſelves in it; to do which was conſidered as a great deal: but ſome of the black muſqueteers having found means to penetrate by a ſmall by-path as far as the interior intrenchment within this work, they immediately made themſelves maſters of it. The grey muſqueteers got into it at the ſame time another way, and were followed by the battalions of the guards. The beſieged were purſued, and ſeveral of them killed; and the muſqueteers letting down the draw-bridge, which joined this work to the others, they followed the enemy from one intrenchment to another, both over the little branch and grand ſtream of the Scheld; ſo that the muſqueteers were got into the city, and the guards very near being ſo, before the king knew whether they had taken the firſt work they had been ordered to attack.

But this is not what appears the moſt extraordinary in this action. It was to be apprehended, that a company of young muſqueteers, flushed with the ardour of ſucceſs, would fall indiſcriminately upon the gariſon and inhabitants, which they might meet in the ſtreets; and that either they would themſelves be overpowered, or the city be plundered by them: but theſe young men, being commanded by a cornet, named Moiſſac, ranged themſelves in order behind ſome carts; and while the other troops were coming up, and forming themſelves without pre-

cipitation or diſorder, others of the muſqueteers ſeized upon the neighbouring houſes, from whence by their fire, they protected thoſe who were in the ſtreets: and thus every thing was done with great regularity: hoſtages were given on both ſides; the town-council aſſembled; and deputies were ſent to the king: and all this was done without plundering, confuſion, or faults of any kind. The king made the gariſon priſoners of war; and entered Valenciennes, aſtoniſhed at being the maſter of it. The ſingularity of this action is what has engaged us in this detail.

He had alſo the glory of taking Ghent (*e*) in four days, and Ypres (*f*) in ſeven. Theſe were the actions which he atchieved himſelf; and his ſucceſſes by his generals were ſtill greater.

Indeed, the marſhal duke de Luxembourg, at firſt, ſuffered Philipſbourg to be taken in his ſight; endeavouring in vain to ſuccour it with an army of fifty thouſand men. The general, who took Philipſbourg, was Charles V. the new duke of Lorrain, the heir of his uncle Charles IV. and, like him, diveſted of his territories. He had all the good qualities of his unfortunate uncle, without his faults. He long commanded the Imperial armies with glory; but, notwithſtanding the taking of Philipſbourg, and though he was at the head of ſixty thouſand men, he was never able to regain poſſeſſion of his territories. He, in vain, diſplayed upon his ſtandards the words, *Aut nunc, aut nunquam; now, or never:* for the marſhal de Crequi, being releaſed from his impriſonment, and become more prudent by his defeat at Conſarbruck, con-

(*e*) March 9. 1678. (*f*) March 25. 1678.

ſtantly baffled all his attempts to enter Lorrain. He defeated him in the little combat of Kokerſberg in Alſace (*g*). He harraſſed and fatigued him continually; took Fribourg (*h*) in his ſight, and, ſometime after, again defeated a detachment of his army at Rheinfeld (*i*). He paſſed the river Kim in his preſence, purſued him towards Offembourgh, and attacked him in his retreat; and, having immediately after taken the fort of Kehl, ſword in hand, he went to burn the bridge of Straſbourgh, by which that city, which was ſtill free, had ſo often given a paſſage to the Imperial arms. Thus the marſhal de Crequi repaired the temerity of one day, by a long courſe of ſucceſs, due only to his prudence; and, if he had lived, would, perhaps, have acquired a reputation equal to that of Turenne.

The prince of Orange was not more fortunate than the duke of Lorrain: he was not only forced to raiſe the ſiege of Maeſtricht and Charleroi, but, after having ſeen Conde, Bouchain, and Valenciennes, ſubjected to the power of Lewis XIV. he, in endeavouring to ſuccour St. Omer, loſt the battle of Montcaſſel, againſt Monſieur. The marſhals de Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded the army under Monſieur; and it is ſaid, that an error, committed by the prince of Orange, joined to a judicious movement made by Luxembourg, were what gained the victory. Monſieur began the attack with a courage and preſence of mind, which were not in the leaſt expected in a prince ſo effeminate as he was. A greater example was never given, to prove that courage is not incompatible with delicacy and ſoftneſs: for the prince, who was almoſt

(*g*) Oct. 7. 1677. (*h*) Nov. 14. 1677. (*i*) July 1678.

always dreſſed like a woman, who had the inclinations of that ſex, who lay in the ſame night-caps which they wear, and who painted and patched as they do; upon this occaſion, behaved like a general, and a ſoldier. It is ſaid, the king his brother was ſomewhat jealous of his glory. It is certain, he ſaid but little to him on occaſion of his victory; and even did not go to look at the field of battle, though he was juſt by it (*k*). Some of Monſieur's ſervants, who were more penetrating than the others, upon this occaſion, told him, that he would never more command the army: and they were not miſtaken in their prediction.

The taking of ſo many towns, and the gaining of ſo many battles in Flanders, and in Germany, were not the only ſucceſſes of Lewis XIV. in this war. The marſhal de Navailles defeated the Spaniards in the Lampourdan; at the foot of the Pyrene, and they were attacked even in Sicily.

Sicily, ever ſince the time of the tyrants of Syracuſe, under whom it had at leaſt been conſidered as ſomething in the world, has always been under the dominion of foreigners: they have been ſucceſſively ſubjected to the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabs, the Normans under vaſſalage to the popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; and they have almoſt always hated their maſters; revolted from them, without making any laudable efforts to regain their liberty; and continually excited ſeditions only to exchange their fetters.

The magiſtrates of Meſſina had lighted up the flames of civil war againſt their governors, and had

(*k*) March 11. 1677.

called France to their aſſiſtance. Their port was blocked up by a Spaniſh fleet; and they were reduced to the extremities of famine.

The chevalier de Valbelle came firſt to their relief with a few frigates; with which he ventured through the Spaniſh fleet, and brought proviſions, troops, and arms, into Meſſina. After him the duke de Vivonne arrived, with ſeven men of war of ſixty guns, two of eighty, and ſeveral fireſhips; with which he defeated the enemy's fleet, and entered Meſſina in triumph (*l*).

Spain, for the defence of Sicily, was now forced to implore the aſſiſtance of her ancient enemies the Dutch, who were always regarded as the maſters of the ſea. Ruyter ſailed with ſuccours from the Zuyderzee, through the ſtreights; and, to twenty Spaniſh veſſels, joined twenty-three large ſhips of war.

And now the French, who formerly, in conjunction with the Engliſh, had not been able to defeat the fleets of Holland alone, gained alone the victory over the united fleets of Spain and the republic (*m*). The duke de Vivonne being obliged to continue in Meſſina, to pacify the people, who were already diſſatisfied with their defenders, ſuffered this battle to be fought by Duquene, lieutenant general of the naval forces: he was a man as ſingular as Ruyter, and who, like him, had obtained command by force of merit; but he had not as yet commanded a fleet, and had hitherto ſignalized himſelf more as a commander of a privateer than an admiral. But whoever once gets the command, having the genius requiſite in his art, will paſs with rapidity, and without difficulty, from the moſt inconſiderable to the

(*l*) February 9. 1675. (*m*) Jan. 8. 1676.

greateſt things. Duquene appeared a great commander even againſt Ruyter: for it was certainly ſhewing himſelf ſuch to gain only an inconſiderable advantage over this Hollander. He gave battle a ſecond time to the two fleets of the enemy near Agouſta; wherein Ruyter received a wound, which put an end to his glorious life (*n*). He is one of thoſe men, whoſe memory is ſtill held in the greateſt veneration in Holland. He had, at firſt, been nothing more than a common ſhip or cabin-boy; and for this he was the more to be reſpected: nor is the name of the princes of Naſſau held in greater eſtimation than his. The council of Spain conferred upon him the title and patent of a duke; a dignity which was foreign and frivolous to a republican. But theſe patents did not arrive till after his death; and the children of Ruyter, who were worthy of their father, refuſed that title; the acquiſition of which is ſo ardently deſired in monarchies, but which is not preferable to the title of a good citizen.

Duquene, the Ruyter of France, attacked the two fleets a third time after the death of the Dutch admiral, and ſunk, burnt, and took, ſeveral of their ſhips. The marſhal duke de Vivonne had the command in chief in this engagement; but it was Duquene, nevertheleſs, who obtained the victory. Europe, with aſtoniſhment, beheld France become, on a ſudden, as formidable by ſea as at land. But, indeed, theſe armaments, and theſe victories, only ſerved to alarm the nations round. The king of England, who had commenced the war for the intereſts of France, was at laſt upon the point of en-

(*n*) March 12. 1676.

tering into a league with the prince of Orange, who had eſpouſed his niece. The glory, acquired in Sicily, was the price of too great treaſures; and the French, at laſt, evacuated Meſſina at the very time when it was generally believed they would make themſelves maſters of the whole iſland. Lewis XIV. was highly blamed for having commenced enterprizes in this war, without carrying them through; and for having abandoned Meſſina, as well as Holland, after the acquiſition of uſeleſs victories.

However, to have no other misfortune than that of not preſerving all his conqueſts, was certainly to be very formidable. His enemies, in every part of Europe, felt the extent of his power. The war in Sicily had coſt him much leſs than it had coſt Spain, which was exhauſted and defeated in all places. He raiſed new enemies againſt the houſe of Auſtria: he fomented the troubles in Hungary; and his embaſſadors at the Ottoman Port were earneſt in their endeavours to make the Turks carry the war into Germany, notwithſtanding he ſhould himſelf, to ſave appearances, ſend ſome ſuccours againſt the Turks, whom policy excited him to draw into the empire. He was alone ſuperior to all his enemies: for Sweden, which was his only ally, was engaged in nothing but an unſucceſsful war againſt the elector of Brandenbourg. This elector, who was the father of the firſt king of Pruſſia, began to give to his country a power and weight, which has ſince been greatly increaſed; and he, at that time, deprived the Swedes of Pomerania. It is remarkable, that, in the courſe of this war, conferences for a peace were almoſt always open; at firſt at Cologne, by the ineffectual mediation of

Sweden; and afterwards at Nimegen, by that of England. But the Engliſh mediation was a ceremony almoſt as vain as the pope's arbitration in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; for Lewis XIV. was the only real arbitrator. He made his propoſals on the 9th of April 1678. in the midſt of his conqueſts, and gave his enemies till the tenth of May, to accept of them. He alſo granted a farther time of ſix weeks to the States general, who ſubmiſſively begged it of him.

His ambition was no longer turned towards Holland. This republic had been ſo fortunate, or ſo cunning, as no longer to appear but as an auxiliary in a war, which had been commenced for her deſtruction. The empire and Spain, who at firſt had only been auxiliaries, at laſt became the principal parties concerned.

The king, in the conditions which he impoſed, favoured the commerce of the Dutch: he reſtored to them Maeſtricht, and alſo gave up ſome towns to the Spaniards, which were to ſerve as a barrier to the United Provinces; ſuch as Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent and Limbourg: but he reſerved Bouchain, Conde, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Caſſel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which, all together, made a conſiderable part of Flanders: and to which he alſo added Franche-Comte, which he conquered twice; and theſe might be conſidered as a ſufficient compenſation for the toil and expence of the war.

From the Empire he only deſired Fribourg or Philipſbourg, and left the choice to the emperor.

He cauſed the two brothers Furſtemberg to be reinſtated in their eſtates, and the biſhopric of Straſbourg, of which they had been deprived by the emperor, and one of them impriſoned. Sweden, which had always continued firmly attached to France, was to reap great advantages by this treaty; in particular, a part of Pomerania, which ſhe had loſt, was to be ceded by the elector of Brandenbourg to the king of Sweden.

In regard to Lorrain, he offered to re-eſtabliſh the new duke Charles V. therein: but he inſiſted on remaining maſter of Nancy, and all the great roads.

Theſe conditions, though preſcribed with the haughtineſs of a conqueror, were not however, ſo unreaſonable as to make his enemies deſperate, and compel them, as a laſt effort, to reunite againſt him: he dictated to Europe as a maſter; but, at the ſame time, he acted with prudence and good policy.

In the conferences at Nimegen, he found means to excite jealouſy among the allies. The Dutch were extremely deſirous to ſign the treaty, notwithſtanding the prince of Orange, who was for continuing the war at any rate. The Dutch alleged, that in caſe they did not ſign, the Spaniards were too weak to aſſiſt them.

When the Spaniards ſaw the Dutch had accepted the conditions of peace, they accepted them alſo; declaring, that the Empire did not exert itſelf ſufficiently in the common cauſe.

Finally, the Germans, being abandoned by Holland and Spain, ſigned the treaty laſt; relinquiſhing Fribourg to the king, and confirming the treaties of Weſtphalia.

No alterations were made in the conditions pre-

ſcribed by Lewis XIV. and Europe received both its laws and its peace from his hands; except only the duke of Lorrain, who rejected a treaty, which he conſidered as odious and diſhonourable to himſelf; and rather choſe to be a fugitive prince in the Empire, than a ſovereign in his own dominions, without honour or power. He hoped for a better fortune from the event of time, and the effect of his own courage and conſtancy.

During the conferences at Nimegen, and four days after the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had ſigned the peace, the prince of Orange ſhewed Lewis XIV. what a dangerous enemy he had in him. The marſhal de Luxembourg, who had inveſted Mons, received information of the ſigning of this treaty; after which he went in perfect ſecurity to the village of St. Denis, and there dined with the intendant of the army. The prince of Orange, with all his forces, attacked the marſhal's quarters; which he forced, and a long, obſtinate, and bloody engagement enſued; from which the prince, with reaſon, expected to gain a diſtinguiſhed victory: for he not only made the attack, which is itſelf an advantage, but he attacked troops, who confided in the ſecurity of the treaty. The marſhal de Luxembourg, with great difficulty, reſiſted: and whatever advantage was gained in this engagement was in favour of the prince of Orange; for his infantry remained maſters of the field of battle.

Did the ambitious ſet a value upon the blood of others, the prince of Orange would not have made this attack. He undoubtedly knew, that the peace was ſigned, or ſoon would be; and he knew, that

this peace was advantageous to his country: nevertheleſs, he endangered his own life, and the lives of many thouſand men, as the firſt fruits of a general peace, which was ſo far advanced, that he could not have prevented it, even by defeating the French. This action, which appeared great, but was certainly very inhuman, and was more admired than blamed at that time, produced no new article of peace, and coſt the lives of two thouſand French, and as many of the enemy, in vain. In this peace it appeared how intirely projects are diſconcerted by events. Holland, againſt whom only the war had been undertaken, and which was to have been deſtroyed, loſt nothing by it; and, on the contrary, gained a barrier: but all the other powers, who had protected it from deſtruction, were loſers.

The king was now at the height of glory and greatneſs. He had been victorious ever ſince he began to reign; had never beſieged any place without taking it; had ſhewed himſelf ſuperior, upon all occaſions, to his enemies united; had been the terror to Europe for ſix years together; was at laſt its arbitrator and peace-maker; and therein added Franche-Comte, Dunkirk, and half of Flanders, to his own dominions: but what ſhould be conſidered as the greateſt of his honours, is, that he was king over a people who were happy at that time, and were the model of other nations. The hotel-de-ville of Paris, in 1680. which was ſome time after the concluſion of this peace, applied the title of *Great* to him, in the moſt ſolemn manner; and ordered, that, for the future, that title only ſhould be uſed in all public monuments. Soon after

the year 1673. ſome medals had been caſt with this ſurname; and Europe, though jealous, did not refuſe to acknowlege the honour. Nevertheleſs, the name of Lewis XIV. has prevailed in the world over that of *Great*. All things are governed by cuſtom. Henry, who was ſo juſtly ſurnamed the *Great* after his death, is now commonly called Henry IV. and this ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes him. The prince of Conde is always called the *great Conde*, not only upon account of his heroic actions, but from the eaſe of diſtinguiſhing him by his ſurname from the other princes of Conde. If he had been called Conde *the great*, he would not have preſerved the title. We ſay the *great* Corneille, to diſtinguiſh him from his brother: but we never ſay the *great* Virgil, the *great* Homer, nor the *great* Taſſo. Alexander the Great is no longer known but by the name of Alexander. Charles V. whoſe ſucceſſes were more diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of Lewis XIV. never had the title of *great*. Charlemagne is now only conſidered as a proper name. Titles are of no conſequence to poſterity; and the bare name of a man, who has done great things, carries more reſpect than all the epithets that can be added to it.

CHAPTER XIII.

The taking of Strasbourg; the bombarding of Algiers; the ſubmiſſion of the Genoeſe; the embaſſy from Siam; the pope humbled; and the electorate of Cologne diſputed.

THE ambition of Lewis XIV. was in no way reſtrained by this general peace. The Empire, Spain, and Holland, diſbanded their extraordinary troops: but Lewis kept all his; and made the ſeaſon of peace a time for conqueſts. He was then ſo certain of his power, that he eſtabliſhed juriſdictions in Metz and Briſſac, to reunite all thoſe territories to his crown, which might formerly have depended upon Alſace, or the three biſhoprics; but which, from time immemorial, had been under other maſters. Many princes of the Empire, the elector Palatine, and the king of Spain himſelf, who were poſſeſſed of ſome bailiwicks in this country, were cited to appear before the chambers which were eſtabliſhed to render homage to the king of France, or to behold the confiſcation of their poſſeſſions. No prince, ſince the time of Charlemagne, had acted ſo much like a maſter, and a judge among ſovereigns, nor conquered countries by arrets, like Lewis XIV.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were diveſted of the ſeigniories of Falkembourg,

Germarſheim, Valdentz, etc. and it was in vain they made complaints to the empire, in the aſſembly at Ratiſbon: for that aſſembly contented itſelf with making proteſtations.

It was not ſufficient for the king to have the prefecture of ten free cities of Alſace, under the ſame title by which the emperor had held them: for now they no longer dared to talk of liberty in any of theſe cities. Straſbourg ſtill preſerved its freedom: it was a large and rich city, was miſtreſs of the Rhine by means of its bridge over that river, and, of itſelf, formed a powerful republic, famous for its arſenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon.

Louvois had long conceived a deſign to ſubject this place to his maſter. Money, intrigue and terror, by which he had opened the gates of ſo many towns, prepared Louvois an entrance into Straſbourg. The magiſtrates were corrupted; and the people were aſtoniſhed to behold their ramparts at once ſurrounded by 20,000 French troops; their forts, which defended them upon the Rhine, inſulted and taken in an inſtant; Louvois at their gates, and their burgomaſters talking of a ſurrender. The prayers, tears, and deſpair of the citizens, who were enamoured of their liberties, did not prevent a treaty for a ſurrender from being propoſed by the magiſtrates, nor Louvois from entering their city the ſame day (*a*). Vauban, by the fortifications with which he afterwards ſurrounded it, rendered it the ſtrongeſt barrier of France.

The king did not behave with more ceremony towards Spain; in the Low Countries he demanded

(*a*) September 30. 1681.

the town of Aloſt, and all its bailiwick; which, the miniſters had forgot, as they ſaid, to inſert in the conditions of peace: and Spain being dilatory in its compliance with this demand, he cauſed the city of Luxembourg to be inveſted.

He, at the ſame time, purchaſed the ſtrong town of Caſal of the duke of Mantua; a petty prince; who, to defray the expences of his pleaſures, would have ſold all his territories.

The alarm in Europe was revived, when ſhe beheld Lewis XIV. thus extending his power on all ſides, and gaining more in a time of peace than ten of his predeceſſors had acquired in all their wars. The Empire, Holland, and even Sweden, having taken umbrage at the king, entered into an alliance. The Engliſh menaced, the Spaniards ſeemed diſpoſed for war, and the prince of Orange did his utmoſt to get it declared: but none of theſe powers, at that time, dared to ſtrike the firſt blow.

The king, who was already feared in all places, (*b*) thought of nothing but making himſelf ſtill more dreaded. He, at laſt, raiſed his marine to a degree of force, which exceeded the hopes of France, and increaſed the fears of Europe. He had ſixty thouſand ſailors; and his regulations for their diſcipline, which were as ſevere as thoſe for the land-army, kept all theſe rough and untractable people within the bounds of their duty. Even the maritime powers, England and Holland, had neither ſo many ſailors, nor ſuch excellent laws. Companies of cadets in the frontier-towns, and marine guards in the ports, were inſtituted, and compoſed of young men, who were inſtructed in all the arts ne-

(*b*) 1680, 1681, 162.

ceſſary in their profeſſion, by maſters who were paid at the public expence.

The port of Toulon, upon the Mediterranean, was conſtructed at an immenſe expence, in ſuch a manner as to contain one hundred men of war, together with an arſenal, and very large and magnificent magazines. The port of Breſt, upon the ocean, was formed upon as extenſive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace, were filled with ſhips; and Rochefort, in ſpite of nature, was made a place of trade, and naval force.

In ſhort, the king had upwards of one hundred ſhips of the line, ſeveral of which carried an hundred guns, and ſome even more: nor did they remain unactive in the ports; for ſquadrons were ſent out under the command of Duquene, which cleared the ſeas, infeſted by the corſairs of Tripoli and Algiers. He was revenged upon Algiers by means of a new art; the diſcovery of which was owing to that care which he took to excite the efforts of all the geniuſes of his age. This admirable, but terrible art, was that of bomb-veſſels, by means of which maritime towns may be reduced to aſhes. There was a young man, named Bernard Renaud, generally known by the name of Little Renaud, who, without having ever been in the ſervice, was an excellent mariner, through the ſtrength of genius. Colbert, who diſtinguiſhed merit, though in obſcurity, had frequently called him to the council of the marine, even in the king's preſence: and it was by the ſkill and care of Renaud, that a new, more regular, and eaſy method in the building of ſhips, was ſoon after practiſed. He ventured in council,

to propoſe to bombard Algiers with a fleet. We had then no idea how it was poſſible to fix mortars for the caſting of bombs in any manner but upon ſolid ground: his propoſal was therefore rejected; and he experienced all that raillery and contradiction which every inventor muſt expect; but his continuing to perſiſt in his opinion, joined to that eloquence which men generally have, who are ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of their own inventions, determined the king to permit this new experiment to be made.

Renaud directed five veſſels to be built, ſmaller than the ordinary ſize, but ſtronger in wood, without decks, and with a falſe deck in the hold, upon which hollow places were made, in which the mortars were put. With this equipage he ſet ſail, under the command of old Duquene, to whom the conduct of the enterprize was committed, and who did not expect any ſucceſs from it: but Duquene and the Algerines were aſtoniſhed at the effect of the bombs. Part of the town was demoliſhed (*c*), and conſumed: but the art, which was afterwards carried into other nations, only ſerved to multiply human calamities; and, more than once, became terrible to France where it had been invented.

The marine, which was brought to this degree of perfection in a very few years, was the fruit of Colbert's care. Louvois, through a ſpirit of emulation, cauſed more than one hundred citadels to be fortified. The fortreſſes of Huningen, Sar-Lewis, Mont-roial, Straſbourg, etc. were built under his direction; and while the kingdom gained ſuch great exterior ſtrength, all the fine arts flouriſhed at home, and the nation abounded in riches and pleaſures.

(*c*) October 28. 1681.

Foreigners came in crouds to admire the court of Lewis XIV. and his name was known in all the nations of the world.

His power and his glory were ſtill more increaſed by the weakneſs of moſt of the other potentates, and by the misfortunes of their people. The emperor Leopold was at that time under apprehenſions from the Hungarian rebels, but more particularly from the Turks; who, being called by the Hungarians to their aſſiſtance, were on the point of entering Germany. The policy of Lewis made him perſecute the Proteſtants in France, becauſe he thought he ought to render them incapable to hurt him; but he ſecretly ſupported the Proteſtants in Hungary, becauſe he thought they might be of ſervice to him. His embaſſador at the Porte had preſſed the armament of the Turks; and the Ottoman troops, to the number of two hundred thouſand men, augmented alſo by the Hungarian forces, in their paſſage, found neither fortified towns, ſuch as are in France, nor any number of troops capable to oppoſe their paſſage: ſo that they penetrated even to the gates of Vienna, after having ruined every thing in their paſſage.

The emperor Leopold, upon the approach of the Turks, quitted Vienna with precipitation, and retired to Lintz; and when he was informed, that they had inveſted Vienna, he fled ſtill farther off, even as far as Paſſau, leaving the duke of Lorrain at the head of a little army, which had been already defeated by the Turks, to ſupport the fortunes of the empire as he might.

It was univerſally believed, the grand viſier Cara-

Muſtapha, who commanded the Ottoman troops, would ſoon make himſelf maſter of the weak and petty capital of Germany, which is regarded by the Imperialiſts as the capital of the Chriſtian world. They were indeed upon the brink of the moſt terrible revolution.

Lewis XIV. with reaſon, expected that Germany, being ravaged by the Turks, and having a chief, whoſe flight had increaſed the general conſternation, would be obliged to have recourſe to the protection of France. He had an army upon the frontiers of the empire, ready to defend it againſt theſe very Turks, whom he had brought thither by his negotiations: and thus he hoped to become the protector of the empire, and to make his ſon king of the Romans.

It was the maſter-piece of his politics to appear generous in the conduct of theſe great intereſts. When the Turks approached Vienna, he raiſed the blockade of Luxembourg. "I deſire only to pro-"mote the happineſs of Chriſtendom," ſaid he to the Spaniards; "and I will never attack a Chriſtian "prince when the Turks are in the empire, nor "prevent Spain from ſuccouring the emperor." Thus he reconciled his politics with his glory: but, contrary to the univerſal expectation, Vienna was relieved. The preſumption of the grand viſier, and his brutal contempt of the Chriſtians, proved his ruin. His not preſſing the ſiege as he ought gave time for the arrival of John Sobieſki; who, being joined by the duke of Lorrain, had only to preſent himſelf before the Ottoman multitude, to put them in confuſion (*d*). The emperor returned into his ca-

(*d*) September 12. 1683.

pital, under the ſhame of having quitted it; and made his entrance at the time when his deliverer was coming out of the church, where they had been ſinging *Te Deum;* and where the preacher, for his text, had taken theſe words: *There was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was John.* No monarch was ever more happy, or more humbled, than Leopold.

And now the king of France, having no longer any meaſures to obſerve, renewed his pretenſions, and recommenced his hoſtilities. He bombarded, beſieged, and took Luxembourg, Courtrai, and Dixmude, in Flanders. He ſeized upon Treves, and demoliſhed its fortifications; and all this, it was ſaid, was to execute the treaties of Nimegen. The Imperialiſts and Spaniards negotiated with him at Ratiſbon, while he was taking their towns; and the violated peace of Nimegen was changed into a truce for twenty years; by which the king kept Luxembourg, and all its principality.

He was ſtill more formidable upon the coaſts of Africa; where the French, till then, had been known only from ſuch of them as theſe barbarians had made ſlaves.

Algiers, which was twice bombarded, ſent deputies to beg pardon, and receive peace (*e*). They releaſed all the Chriſtian ſlaves, and alſo paid a ſum of money; which is the ſevereſt puniſhment that can be inflicted on theſe corſairs.

Tunis and Tripoli made the ſame ſubmiſſions. It may not be amiſs here to take notice, that when Damfreville, captain of the ſhips, came into Algiers to deliver all the Chriſtian ſlaves in the name

(*e*) April 1684.

of the king of France, a great number of Engliſh was found among them; who, being got on board his ſhips, inſiſted to Damfreville, that it was in conſideration of the king of England that they had been ſet at liberty. Upon this, the French captain ſent for the Algerines; and cauſing the Engliſh to be again ſet on ſhore; *Theſe men*, ſaid he, *pretend they have gained their freedom only in the name of their king: mine, therefore, will not take the liberty to offer them his protection: I put them again into your hands, and you may now ſhew what regard you have for the king of England.* All theſe Engliſh were again put in irons: and this action at once declared the pride of the Engliſh, the weakneſs of the government of Charles II. and the reſpect which all nations paid to Lewis XIV.

So great was this univerſal reſpect, that new honours were granted to his embaſſador at the Ottoman Porte, ſuch as thoſe ſhewn to the ſophy of Perſia; though at the ſame time, he was humbling the people of Africa, who are under the protection of the grand ſignor.

The republic of Genoa humbled itſelf before him ſtill more than that of Algiers. The Genoeſe had ſold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and were building four gallies for the ſervice of Spain. The king, by his envoy, Saint-Olon, who was a private gentleman, commanded them not to launch thoſe gallies, and threatened them with a ſpeedy chaſtiſement, in caſe of diſobedience to his will. The Genoeſe, being incenſed at this outrage upon their liberties, and depending too much upon the aſſiſtance of Spain, neglected to do what Lewis XIV. had ordered. Fourteen large ſhips, twenty

gallies, ten bomb-veſſels, and ſeveral frigates, immediately ſailed out of the port of Toulon. Seignelai, the new ſecretary of the marine, which employment his father, the famous Colbert, had made him exerciſe before his death, was himſelf on board this fleet. This young man was full of ambition, courage, ſpirit, and activity; was deſirous to be at once both a general, and a miniſter; was anxious for every kind of glory; ſanguine in all his purſuits; and mixed pleaſures with his buſineſs in ſuch a manner as not to injure or neglect it. Old Duquene commanded the men of war, and the duke de Mortemar the gallies; but they were both obedient to the ſecretary of ſtate. They arrived before Genoa *(f)*; the ten galliots threw fourteen thouſand bombs into the city, and reduced to an heap of ruins part of thoſe marble edifices, which have gained Genoa the name of *the Superb*. Four thouſand ſoldiers, being landed, advanced up to the gates of the city, and burnt the ſuburbs of St. Peter d'Arena. And now it became neceſſary for the Genoeſe to humble themſelves, in order to prevent a total ruin. The king inſiſted, that the doge of Genoa, and four of the principal ſenators, ſhould come and implore his clemency in his palace at Verſailles: and, to prevent the Genoeſe from eluding this ſatisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his glory, he declared, that the doge, who ſhould be ſent to beg his pardon, ſhould be continued in his dignity, notwithſtanding that perpetual law of Genoa, by which the doges are deprived of that dignity, whenever they abſent themſelves a moment from the city.

(f) March 17. 1684.

Imperialo Leſcaro, doge of Genoa, with the ſenators Lomelino, Garebardi, Durazzo, and Salvago, came to Verſailles to make the king ſuch ſatisfaction as he ſhould require of them. The doge, in his ceremonial habit, ſpoke, covered with a cap of red velvet, which he frequently pulled off. His ſpeech, and his marks of ſubmiſſion, were dictated by Seignelai. The king gave him audience, ſeated and covered: but as, in all the actions of his life he joined politeneſs with dignity, he treated Leſcaro, and the ſenators with as much goodneſs as grandeur. The miniſters Louvois, Croiſſi, and Seignelai, behaved towards them with more pride and haughtineſs: and this difference of behaviour made the doge ſay; *The king, by his manner of receiving us deprives us of our liberty; but his miniſters reſtore it.* This doge was a man of great wit: and what he ſaid, when the marquis de Seignelai aſked him what he thought moſt extraordinary at Verſailles, is generally known: he anſwered, *it is to ſee myſelf here.*

The extreme paſſion which Lewis XIV. had for every thing which appeared with an eclat, was ſtill more flattered by the embaſſy which he received from Siam; a country where, till that time, they were ignorant that ſuch a kingdom as France exiſted. It had happened, through one of thoſe ſingular incidents which prove the ſuperiority of the Europeans over other nations, that a Greek, the ſon of an innkeeper of Cephalonia, named Phalk Conſtance, was become *Barcalon*, that is, prime miniſter, or grand viſier, of the kingdom of Siam. This man, in the deſign which he had conceived to make himſelf king, and in his want of foreign

assistance, had not dared to confide either in the English or Dutch; they are too dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had established factories upon the coasts of Coromandel, and had carried their king's reputation into these distant regions of Asia. Constance regarded Lewis XIV. as a person whose vanity he might flatter, by paying him an unexpected homage from so distant a place. Religion, which is made the universal tool of politics from Siam even to Paris, served Constance upon this occasion. He sent a solemn embassy (*e*), in the name of this master the king of Siam; with very great presents, to Lewis XIV. and to give him to understand, that this Indian monarch, admiring the glory and splendor of his reign, would conclude no treaty but with the French nation; and even that he intended soon to become a Christian. The king's glory being flattered, and his religion deceived, he was prevailed on to send two embassadors, and six Jesuits, to the king of Siam; and to these he afterwards added some officers, with eight hundred soldiers. But the eclat of the Siamese embassy was the only fruit of it. Constance fell a victim to his ambition, and the few French which remained about him were massacred; others were obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was condemned by the successor of the king of Siam, to serve in his kitchen; for which employment she was born.

This thirst of glory, which excited Lewis XIV. to distinguish himself in every thing from other monarchs, again appeared in the haughty behaviour which he affected towards the court of Rome.

(*e*) 1684.

Odeſcalchi, the ſon of a banker in the Milaneſe, at that time poſſeſſed the papal dignity, under the name of Innocent XI. He was a man of virtue, and a good pope, though he knew little of theology: and he was a couragious, firm, and magnificent prince. He ſuccoured the empire and Poland againſt the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his gallies. He very highly condemned the conduct of Lewis XIV. for uniting with the Turks againſt the Chriſtians. People were aſtoniſhed to behold a pope with ſuch earneſtneſs eſpouſe the cauſe of the emperors, who call themſelves kings of the Romans, and would, if they could, reign in Rome. But Odeſcalchi was born under the Auſtrian dominion; and had made two campaigns in the troops of the Milaneſe. Cuſtom and diſpoſition govern mankind. His pride was piqued at the king; who, on his ſide, mortified him in every thing that a king of France is capable of towards a pope, without breaking communion with him *(f)*. An abuſe had long reigned in Rome, which was difficult to correct, becauſe it was founded upon a point of honour, whereon all the catholic kings piqued themſelves. Their embaſſadors at Rome extended their right of freedom and aſylum, affected by all their maſters, to a very great diſtance, which was called their *quarters*. Theſe pretenſions, which were conſtantly maintained, rendered one half of Rome a certain aſylum to all ſorts of criminals. And, by another abuſe, whatever entered Rome under the name of the embaſſadors, never paid any duty. By this cuſtom the commerce of the city ſuffered, and the ſtate was impoveriſhed.

(f) 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688.

At laſt, Innocent XI. prevailed on the emperor, the kings of Spain, Poland, and the new king of England, James II. who was a catholic prince, to renounce theſe odious rights. The nuncio Ranucci propoſed to Lewis XIV. to concurr with the other kings in promoting tranquillity and good order in Rome. But Lewis, being greatly diſſatiſfied with the pope, replied, "that he had never "made the conduct of others an example to him-"ſelf; but, on the contrary, would make himſelf "an example to others." After this he ſent the marquis de Lavardin as his embaſſador to Rome, to brave the pope. Lavardin entered Rome, notwithſtanding the pope's prohibition, eſcorted by four hundred marine guards, four hundred volunteer officers, and two hundred ſervants, all armed. He took poſſeſſion of his palace, his quarters, and the church of Saint Lewis, round which he poſted centinels, who did regular duty, and were relieved in the ſame manner as in a fortified place. The pope is the only ſovereign to whom ſuch an embaſſy can be ſent: for the ſuperiority which he affects over crowned heads, always makes them deſirous to humble him; and, through the weakneſs of his ſtate, he is always inſulted with impunity. All that Innoceat XI. could do in oppoſition to the marquis de Lavardin, was to employ his excommunications; a ſort of arms which are, indeed, as little regarded at Rome as elſewhere; but which, nevertheleſs, through ancient cuſtom, are employed like the pope's ſoldiers, who bear arms only for the ſake of form.

The cardinal d'Etree, who was a man of wit, but was frequently an unſucceſsful negotiator, was, at

that time, charged with the affairs of France at Rome. D'Etree, having been obliged frequently to ſee the marquis de Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the pope, without firſt receiving abſolution: and it was in vain that he oppoſed it; for Innocent XI. perſiſted in giving it to him, that he might ſtill continue to preſerve that imaginary power, by continuing to practiſe thoſe cuſtoms on which it is founded.

Lewis, in the ſame authoritative manner, but always ſupported by the arts of policy, endeavoured to direct the choice of an elector of Cologne. His ſole deſign being to oppoſe or divide the Empire, he endeavoured to raiſe to his electorate the cardinal de Furſtemberg, biſhop of Straſbourg, who was his creature, had ſuffered for ſerving his intereſts, and was an irreconcileable enemy to the emperor, who in the laſt war had made him a priſoner, as a German who had ſold himſelf to the ſervice of France.

The chapter of Cologne, like all the other chapters of Germany, has a right to nominate its biſhop, who, by that means, becomes elector. The perſon, who filled this ſee, was Ferdinard of Bavaria, who, like many other princes, had formerly been an ally, but was now an enemy to the king. He was very dangerouſly ill: and, at that juncture, the king diſtributing his money very liberally among the canons, and uſing promiſes and intrigues at the ſame time, he got the cardinal de Fuſtemberg to be elected as coadjutor; and, after the death of Ferdinand, he was elected a ſecond time, by a plurality of ſuffrages. The pope, by the German concordat, has a right to confer the biſhopric upon the perſon

elected, and the emperor has that of confirming him in the electorate. The emperor and Innocent XI. being perſuaded that to let Furſtemberg poſſeſs the electoral dignity, would, in a manner, be letting Lewis XIV. poſſeſs it, they united to beſtow this principality upon the young prince of Bavaria, brother of the deceaſed elector. The king was revenged upon the pope, by depriving him of Avignon (*g*); and he prepared for war againſt the emperor. At the ſame time he diſturbed the repoſe of the elector Palatine, upon occaſion of the rights of *Madame*, the princeſs Palatine, and ſecond wife to *Monſieur*; which rights, by her marriage-contract, ſhe had renounced. The war carried on againſt Spain, in 1667. in favour of the rights of Maria-Thereſa, notwithſtanding a parallel renuntiation, ſufficiently proves, that contracts are deſigned only for private perſons. Thus the king, at the height of his glory and greatneſs, offended, deſpoiled or humbled, almoſt all the princes round him; but, at the ſame time, he alſo made almoſt all of them unite and conſpire againſt him.

CHAPTER XIV.

King James dethroned by his ſon-in-law William III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, more ambitious than Lewis XIV. had formed vaſt deſigns, and

(*g*) October 1688.

ſuch as might appear chimerical in a ſtadtholder of Holland; yet theſe he carried into execution by his dexterity and courage. He was bent upon humbling the French king, and intended to dethrone the king of England. Without great difficulty he, by degrees, formed a league in Europe againſt France. The emperor, part of the Empire, Holland, and the duke of Lorrain, were the firſt who ſecretly joined themſelves at Augſbourg; and this alliance was ſoon after ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Spain and Savoy. The pope, though he did not avow himſelf one of the confederates, yet, by his intrigues he animated the whole. Venice favoured them alſo, though ſhe had not declared openly; and all the Italian princes were likewiſe in their intereſt. In the north, Sweden was then attached to the Imperialiſts; and Denmark, though an ally of France, incapable of doing her any ſervice. There were, at this juncture, too, above ſix hundred thouſand Proteſtants, who had been obliged to flee from the perſecution of Lewis. Theſe, having left their native country, carried along with them their riches, their induſtry, and an implacable hatred againſt their king: wherever they ſettled, they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed thoſe powers already inclined to war. We ſhall ſpeak of this flight of the Proteſtants, in the chapter concerning Religion. Thus the king was on all ſides beſet with enemies; James being his only friend.

James ſucceeded his brother Charles II. as king of England. They were both Roman Catholics; but Charles never declared himſelf till towards the end of his life, and even then intirely out of complaiſance to his miſtreſſes and brother; for, in rea-

lity, his only religion was deiſm. He had always ſhewn the utmoſt indifference in thoſe controverted points of religion, which are apt to divide mankind; and this contributed not a little to that peaceable reign which he enjoyed. James, on the other hand, had been attached to the Romiſh church from his early years from principle; and he eſpouſed her cauſe with the moſt extravagant zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or had he followed the doctrine of Confucius, the Engliſh would never have diſturbed his reign: but he deſigned to eſtabliſh, in his kingdoms, the Roman Catholic religion; than which nothing could be more deteſtable in the eyes of thoſe republican royaliſts, who account it the religion of ſlaves. It is ſometimes, indeed, a matter of no great difficulty to change the religion of a country. Conſtantine, Clovis, Guſtavus Vaſa, and queen Elizabeth, each by different methods, accompliſhed this. But, in order to affect ſuch alterations, two things are abſolutely requiſite; deep policy, and a concurrence of lucky circumſtances: by neither of which was James favoured.

It nettled him not a little to ſee ſo many princes in Europe reigning with a deſpotic ſway: thoſe of Sweden and Denmark had lately too become abſolute; in ſhort, England and Poland were now the only remaining kingdoms where the liberty of the people and monarchy ſubſiſted together. Lewis XIV. encouraged him to aim at abſolute power; and the Jeſuits puſhed him on to re-eſtabliſh their religion and their credit. He accordingly endeavoured to carry theſe points; but every ſtep he took was ſo unfortunate or unpolitic, that he only inflam-

ed the whole nation. At his firſt ſetting out, he acted as if he had already accompliſhed his purpoſes; entertaining publicly at his court the pope's nuncio, the Jeſuits and Capuchin friers; putting in priſon ſeven Engliſh biſhops, whom he ſhould rather, if poſſible, have gained over to his intereſt; taking away the privileges of the city of London, which he ought rather to have encreaſed; and, in an arbitrary manner, trampling upon the laws, which he ſhould rather have ſecretly undermined: in ſhort, his whole conduct was ſo indiſcreet, that the cardinals of Rome humorouſly ſaid, "that they ought to excommunicate "him as a man who was going to deſtroy that little "of the Catholic religion which remained in Eng-"land." Pope Innocent XI. had not the leaſt hopes from James's projects; and conſtantly refuſed him a cardinal's cap, which he ſolicited for father Peters, his confeſſor. This Jeſuit was a man of a forward and impetuous diſpoſition; he had ſtrongly flattered himſelf with the thoughts of being a cardinal, and primate of England; and, in order to gratify his ambition, puſhed on his maſter to the utmoſt extremities. The heads of the nation, being reſolved to defeat the king's deſigns, formed themſelves into a ſecret confederacy: they ſent a deputation to the prince of Orange; and all their meaſures were conducted with ſo much diſcretion and ſecrecy, that the court had not the leaſt ſuſpicion.

A fleet, ſufficient to contain fourteen or fifteen thouſand men, was accordingly fitted out by the prince of Orange; who, at this juncture, could be conſidered only as a private perſon, of an illuſtrious rank; for his yearly income was ſcarce five hundred thouſand livres; yet ſuch were the effects of his po-

licy, that the ſtates general were devoted to his intereſt, and their navy and treaſure at his command. He became, indeed, a king in Holland, by his ſkilful addreſs; whilſt James, by a precipitate conduct, ceaſed to be ſo in England. It was at firſt given out, that this fleet was deſigned againſt France; and the ſecret was kept by above two hundred perſons. Barillon, the French embaſſador then at London, a man of pleaſure, and better verſed in the intrigues of James's miſtreſſes than the affairs of Europe, was firſt deceived. Lewis, however, was not: he offered ſuccour to his ally, who at firſt refuſed it, from a notion of his ſecurity. James ſoon after ſolicited his aſſiſtance; but it proved then too late, the prince of Orange's fleet being under ſail: every thing failed him at once, as he was wanting to himſelf. His ſhips allowed thoſe of the enemy to paſs them; ſo that now his only reſource was to defend himſelf by land. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men; had he led them immediately to battle, without giving time for reflection, in all probability they would have fought; but he left them leiſure to determine themſelves; and, accordingly moſt of the chief officers deſerted him (*a*). Amongſt theſe was the famous Churchill, as fatal afterwards to Lewis as James; who became ſo illuſtrious under the title of duke of Marlborough. He had been a particular favourite of James; and owed to him all his promotion: his own ſiſter was the king's miſtreſs, and he himſelf was his lieutenant-general; yet notwithſtanding all this, he left him, and joined the prince of Orange. The prince of

(*a*) 1688.

Denmark, James's ſon-in-law, nay even his own daughter the princeſs Anne, forſook him alſo.

Being thus attacked and perſecuted by one ſon-in-law, and abandoned by the other, his two daughters, as well as his intimate friends, having become his enemies, and being hated by his ſubjects, he fell into the utmoſt deſpair, and betook himſelf to flight; the laſt reſource of a prince when conquered; but he had recourſe thereto without fighting. He was ſtopt, however, in his flight by the populace, who behaved to him very diſreſpectfully, and conducted him back to London. In ſhort, after having received the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, after having ſeen his own guards turned out to make room for thoſe of another, being driven from his own houſe, and made a priſoner at Rocheſter, he made uſe of the liberty which was given him to quit his kingdom, and went to ſeek refuge in France.

This was the true aera of Engliſh liberty: the nation, repreſented by its parliament, now fixed the ſo long conteſted bounds betwixt the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people: they preſcribed the terms of reigning to the prince of Orange, and choſe him for their ſovereign, in conjunction with his conſort Mary, James's daughter. Henceforth this prince was acknowleged in the greateſt part of Europe, as William III. lawful king of England, and accounted the deliverer of the nation; but, in France, he was only ſtiled prince of Orange, and looked upon as the uſurper of his father-in-law's dominions.

The fugitive prince, with his queen, the duke of Modena's daughter, and the prince of Wales, as

yet an infant, accordingly implored the protection of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived before her huſband (*b*), was aſtoniſhed at the ſplendor of the French court, and that magnificent profuſion which ſhe beheld at Verſailles: above all, ſhe was ſtruck with the grandeur of her own reception. Lewis himſelf conducted her to Chatou, thus expreſſing himſelf on the occaſion: "The office I "perform at preſent, Madam, is a ſorrowful one; "but I hope ſoon to do you others more important "and agreeable." He went with her to the caſtle of St. Germain, where ſhe was entertained with as much grandeur as if ſhe had been queen of France; being ſupplied with every thing which convenience or luxury could require, and having many noble preſents given her in gold and ſilver plate, jewels, and the richeſt ſtuffs: ſhe found likewiſe upon her toilet a purſe of ten thouſand Lewis-d'ors.

James, who arrived next day after his queen, was treated alſo with the ſame reſpect and magnificence: he had ſix hundred thouſand livres ſettled for the expence of his houſhold, beſides the innumerable preſents he received, and was attended by the king's officers and guards. All this pomp appeared however but inconſiderable, compared with the preparations made to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. Lewis never appeared ſo great; but James made a ſorry figure, his reputation being very low, both at court, and in the city, amongſt thoſe who ſettle the characters of others. He ſaw nobody almoſt but Jeſuits, and often alighted at their houſes in the Street of St. Anthony. He told them he was a Jeſuit himſelf: and what was extraordinary, it was

(*b*) January 1689.

certainly a fact; for, by his own command, when he was duke of York, he had been initiated with certain ceremonies into this order by four Engliſh Jeſuits. Such meanneſs of ſoul in a prince, and the manner in which he had loſt his crown, made him appear in ſo contemptible a light, that the courtiers often amuſed themſelves with making ſongs at his expence. Chaced from England, he became the ſubject of ridicule in France: nor did his being a Roman Catholic ſtand him in any ſtead: the archbiſhop of Rheims, brother of Louvois, ſaid aloud, in his drawing-room at St. Germains, "There's a ſimple-"ton, who has thrown away three kingdoms for a "maſs." From Rome he received nothing but indulgencies and paſquils. His religion, in ſhort, was of ſo little ſervice to him, that when the prince of Orange, the head of the Calviniſts, ſet ſail in order to dethrone his father-in-law, the Spaniſh embaſſador at the Hague ordered maſs to be performed for his ſucceſs.

Amidſt theſe diſtreſſes of this exiled prince, and the many kindneſſes conferred on him by Lewis XIV. it may not be unworthy of our attention to ſee James touching for the king's-evil at the little Engliſh convent; the king's of England either aſſuming this wonderful power from a right they pretend to the crown of France, or that it had been a ceremony eſtabliſhed ſince the reign of Edward I.

Lewis made all poſſible diſpatch to ſend James over to Ireland, where there were a formidable body of Roman Catholics in his intereſt. A fleet of thirteen ſhips of the firſt rate was in the road at Breſt, and all the officers, courtiers, and even prieſts,

who had come to attend him at St. Germains, were conducted thither at Lewis's expence. Mr. d'Avaux, being named embaſſador to the dethroned prince, followed him with great pomp. The fleet was furniſhed with plenty of arms and ammunition; and there was likewiſe put on board ordinary and rich furniture of all ſorts: Lewis himſelf went to take his leave of James at St. Germains; and, having given him his coat of mail as his laſt preſent, he embraced him with theſe words: "The beſt thing I "can wiſh you, is, that I may never ſee you more." No ſooner had James landed in Ireland, with theſe forces, than he was followed by another fleet of three-and-twenty men of war, with a conſiderable number of tranſport-ſhips, under the command of Chateau Renaud (*d*). This ſquadron having, in the paſſage, met with an Engliſh fleet, forced it to ſheer off, and then landed all the forces in ſafety. In their return, they took ſeven merchant-ſhips, belonging to the Dutch; and thus arrived again at Breſt, victorious over the Engliſh, and loaded with the ſpoils of Holland.

Soon after, there was a third embarkation at Breſt, Toulon, and Rochefort (*e*). The ports of Ireland, and the Chanel, were now covered with French ſhips. Tourville, the French vice-admiral, having under his command ſeventy-two ſhips, fell in with a Dutch and Engliſh fleet of ſixty ſail; and a deſperate fight enſued, which laſted ten hours (*f*). Tourville, Chateau Renaud, d'Etrees, and Nemond, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion: by their courage and ſkill France procured an honour to which ſhe had not been accuſtomed: for the Eng-

(*d*) May 12. 1689. (*e*) March 1690. (*f*) July 1690.

liſh and Dutch, hitherto lords of the ocean, and from whom the French had but lately learned the method of fighting at ſea in line of battle, were utterly defeated; ſeventeen of their ſhips, being diſabled, were partly ſtranded, and partly burnt, by themſelves: the remainder of the fleet took refuge in the Thames, or amongſt the banks of Holland. Thus what Lewis XIV. had ſo ardently deſired for twenty years, and what appeared ſo improbable, now happened; the late victory, which had not coſt the French one ſhip, having procured him the empire of the ſea; an empire, however, which proved but of ſhort duration. It muſt be owned, indeed, that the enemy's ſhips at preſent fled before his triumphant fleets. Soon after, Seignelai, a bold enterpriſing miniſter, ordered to ſea a number of gallies from Marſeilles: and this was the firſt time the Engliſh coaſts were viſited by theſe veſſels; by means of which the French made a deſcent at Tinmouth, and deſtroyed, in the bay, above thirty merchant-ſhips. The privateers of St. Malo's and Dunkirk were continually taking prizes; doing great ſervice thereby to the public, and enriching themſelves. In ſhort, for two years, the French were ſole maſters at ſea.

But though Lewis had been ſo proſperous in his undertakings, James could not boaſt of ſucceſs in Ireland. He had with him about ſix thouſand French, and fifteen thouſand Iriſh; the Boyne running betwixt his army and that of king William. This river was fordable, being under the height of a man's ſhoulders: but, after paſſing this, the enemy muſt alſo have marched over a moraſs, next to which there was a riſing-ground, which formed a natural

intrenchment. King William, having forded the river with his army in three different places, gave battle (g). The Iriſh, who ſhew themſelves the braveſt ſoldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved at home ſhamefully. Amongſt nations, ſome ſeem, as it were, formed to be under the ſubjection of others: the Engliſh have always had a ſuperiority over the Iriſh in genius, as well as arms and riches; nor has Ireland ever been able to ſhake off the yoke, ſince ſhe was firſt ſubdued by an Engliſh baron. The French fought at the battle of the Boyne; the Iriſh fled; and James, their ſovereign, without once heading them, or the French, was the firſt who quitted the field. This monarch hitherto had always given proofs of the higheſt valour; but there are certain occaſions when a kind of tremor ſeizes the ſpirits, and enervates the whole man. King William, who had had his ſhoulder grazed by a cannon-bullet before the engagement, was reported, in France, to be dead. This falſe news was received at Paris with a ſhameful and unbecoming tranſport. The populace and citizens, at the inſtigation of ſome inferior magiſtrates, made illuminations; they rung their bells; they burnt the prince of Orange in effigy, in ſeveral parts of the city, in the ſame manner as the pope is often burnt in London; nay, they even fired the Baſtille guns on the occaſion. This, however, was not done by the king's orders; but was owing to the inconſiderate zeal of an inferior officer. One may be apt to infer, from theſe demonſtrations of joy, and from the authority of ſo many writers, that this extravagant tranſport, at the pretended death of an enemy,

(g) July 1690.

proceeded from that exceſſive fear which he had excited; for all the French, as well as foreign hiſtorians, have conſidered theſe rejoicings as the higheſt encomium on king William: yet, if we conſider attentively the circumſtances and character of thoſe times, we ſhall find that it was not fear which produced thoſe extravagancies: the citizens, and lower people, have no notion of dreading an enemy till he threatens their city: nay, ſo far were they from being terrified at the name of William, that they unjuſtly held him in the utmoſt contempt. He had been almoſt always worſted by the French generals: nor were the common people ſenſible of the glory this prince had acquired even in his defeat; and though he had conquered James in Ireland, yet, in the eyes of the French, he did not appear an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. Paris adored her prince, and believed him invincible; ſo that theſe rejoicings were not the effects of fear, but hatred. The Pariſians, having moſt of them been born under the reign of Lewis, and inured to the yoke of abſolute monarchy, eſteemed a king as a divinity, and looked upon an uſurper as a ſacrilegious villain. The lower claſs of people, who had often ſeen James go to maſs, conceived an affection for him as a pious prince, whilſt they deteſted William as an heretic. The idea of a ſon-in-law and daughter, who had driven their father into exile, of a Proteſtant reigning in the room of a Catholic, and, in ſhort, of an enemy of Lewis XIV. had tranſported the Pariſians to a pitch of phrenſy; but wiſe people were more moderate in their ſentiments.

James, having returned to France, left his rival to gain new victories in Ireland, and to eſtabliſh

himſelf more firmly on his throne. Lewis's fleets were now employed in bringing over the French, who had fought to no purpoſe, as well as great numbers of Iriſh catholic families, who, living but poorly in their own country, choſe rather to go over to France to live on the king's bounty.

We may eaſily perceive, that fortune had but little ſhare in the beginning or end of this revolution; ſince every part of it may be accounted for from the different characters of James and William. Thoſe who diſcover the cauſes of events, in the different conduct of men, will here obſerve, that king William, after his victory, proclaimed a general pardon; and that James, after his defeat, paſſing through the little town of Galloway, ordered ſome of the inhabitants to be hanged, becauſe they had been for ſhutting the gates againſt him. Of two men, whoſe conduct was ſo different, it is eaſy to ſee which would prevail.

James had yet ſome towns remaining in Ireland; amongſt others was Limerick, where he had above twelve thouſand ſoldiers. The French king, who was ſtill reſolved to ſupport James, embarked three thouſand regular troops for Limerick: nor did he ſtop here; for he ſent over a large ſupply of all neceſſaries for the inhabitants as well as ſoldiers. Forty tranſport-ſhips ſailed for Ireland, under the convoy of twelve men of war; containing all kinds of ſuccours, in men, arms, and all other requiſites; engineers, gunners, bombardiers, and two hundred maſons; ſaddles, bridles, and houſings, for above twenty thouſand horſe; a great number of cannon, with their carriages; fuſees, piſtols, and ſwords, ſufficient to arm

twenty-ſix thouſand men; proviſions, cloaths, and twenty-ſix thouſand pair of ſhoes. Limerick was ſoon afterwards beſieged; and, as the place was ſo ſtrongly reinforced, the inhabitants expected the king would appear in their defence. James, however, not coming, the town ſurrendered. The French fleet returned to France, bringing over with them no leſs than twenty thouſand Iriſh, ſoldiers as well as other refugees.

It is not a little aſtoniſhing, that, notwithſtanding all theſe rebuffs, Lewis was not yet diſcouraged; for though he at that time maintained a heavy war againſt almoſt all Europe, yet he reſolved to make another grand effort in favour of James, by making a deſcent on England with twenty thouſand men. They were accordingly aſſembled betwixt Cherbourg and La Hogue; and three hundred tranſport-ſhips were got ready at Breſt. Tourville, with forty-four men of war, waited for them on the coaſts of Normandy; and d'Etrees was on his way from Toulon with another ſquadron of thirty ſail. As there are misfortunes which ariſe from bad conduct, ſo there are likewiſe others which can be imputed only to ill-fortune. The wind, which was at firſt favourable to d'Etrees's ſquadron, chopped about; which prevented his joining Tourville, who was attacked by the united fleets of England and Holland, of near an hundred ſail. Superiority of number obtained the victory; and the French were obliged to ſheer off, after an obſtinate fight of ten hours. Ruſſel, the Engliſh admiral, purſued them two days: fourteen of their largeſt ſhips, two of which mounted an hundred and four guns, ſtranded on the coaſt; and the captains, knowing they

muſt be deſtroyed by the enemy, with their own hands fired them. King James, who was himſelf a ſpectator of this calamity from the ſhore, loſt all hope.

This was the firſt check which the maritime power of Lewis received. Seignelai, who, following the ſteps of his father Colbert, had greatly improved the marine of France, died about the end of the year 1690. Pontchartain, preſident of Britany, ſucceeded him as ſecretary of naval affairs: he likewiſe kept up the maritime power with equal vigilance; and the whole French miniſtry promoted it with the ſame ſpirit; ſo that the very year after the defeat at La Hogue, the French navy was as numerous as ever. Tourville was ſoon at the head of ſixty ſhips of the line, and d'Etrees had thirty under his command, excluſive of thoſe which lay in the harbours: nay, about four years after, the king equipped a ſquadron more numerous than any of the former, to convoy James to England, with twenty thouſand French. But this fleet only ſhewed itſelf; the meaſures, purſued by James's friends, being as ill conducted at London, as they had been well concerted in France by his protector.

The dethroned prince's party, having no other reſource, had now at laſt recourſe to forming plots againſt his rival's life. Almoſt all thoſe, who were concerned in theſe conſpiracies, ſuffered death: and though they had even ſucceeded, it is not likely that James would ever have recovered his kingdom. He ſpent the remainder of his days at St. Germains, where he lived upon the bounty of Lewis, and a yearly penſion of ſeventy-two thou-

ſand livres, which he was ſo mean as to receive ſecretly from his daughter Mary, by whom he had been dethroned. He died at St. Germains, in the year 1700.; and it was pretended by ſome Iriſh Jeſuits, that there were miracles wrought at his tomb: there was even a report, that Rome intended to canonize this prince after his death, whom ſhe had intirely forſaken during his life.

Few princes had been more unfortunate than James; nor have we any inſtance in hiſtory of a family ſo unhappy for ſuch a number of years. The firſt of his anceſtors, who reigned over Scotland, and was likewiſe named James, after having been eighteen years a priſoner in England, was, together with his queen, murdered by his own ſubjects. James II. his ſon, was killed in a battle againſt the Engliſh, at the age of nineteen. James III. being firſt impriſoned by his people, was afterwards killed in the field by the rebels. James IV. likewiſe loſt his life in an unſucceſsful battle. Mary Stuart, his grand daughter, having been driven from her throne, took refuge in England; where, after languiſhing in priſon eighteen years, ſhe was condemned to death by Engliſh judges, and accordingly beheaded. Charles I. her grandſon, king of Scotland, as well as England, being ſold by the Scots, was ſentenced to death by the Engliſh, and ſuffered on a ſcaffold. James his ſon, the ſeventh of the name, and ſecond of England, the ſubject of this part of our hiſtory, was driven out of his three kingdoms; and, as a further aggravation of his misfortunes, even the legitimacy of his ſon was diſputed. This ſon likewiſe made efforts to regain the throne of his anceſtors; but

they proved fruitleſs, and were only the occaſion of many of his friends ſuffering death by the hands of public executioners. We have alſo lately ſeen Prince Charles-Edward exerting the virtues of his royal anceſtors, and the courage of his mother's father king John Sobieſki: forming great exploits, and undergoing the moſt incredible hardſhips; but all to no purpoſe. If any thing can juſtify the opinion of thoſe who believe in a fatality, from which nothing can eſcape, it is this continued ſeries of misfortunes, which has perſecuted the Stuart family for above three hundred years.

CHAPTER XV.

What paſſed on the continent, whilſt William took poſſeſſion of Scotland, England, and Ireland, to the year 1697.

SO far I have been unwilling to break the thread of the affairs in England; I now return to thoſe on the continent.

The king had certainly increaſed his naval ſtrength to ſuch a degree, as no nation ever exceeded: he had to encounter with the emperor, the Empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, become now more formidable by being under one head, beſides Savoy, and almoſt all Italy. One only of theſe enemies, ſuch as England or Spain, would have been ſufficient formerly to cruſh France; and now, altogether, could

hardly ſtruggle with her. Lewis had generally five armies in the courſe of this war; ſometimes ſix, and never leſs than four. Thoſe in Germany and Flanders often amounted to an hundred thouſand ſoldiers, beſides gariſons kept up in the frontier towns. The French monarch had at one time, including his naval forces, four hundred and fifty thouſand men in pay. Neither the Turkiſh empire, ſo powerful in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, nor the Roman, ſtill greater, had ever more, nor ſo many wars to ſupport at one and the ſame time. Even thoſe who blamed Lewis XIV. for drawing upon himſelf ſo many enemies, could not help admiring the meaſures he took to oppoſe, or rather to prevent them.

His enemies were not yet intirely declared, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet ſailed out of the Texel in order to drive his father-in-law from his dominions; and France had already armies on the frontiers of Holland, and on the Rhine. Lewis had ſent his ſon the Dauphin who was called Monſeigneur, into Germany, with an army of an hundred thouſand men. This young prince greatly reſembled the queen his mother, in the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and modeſty of his behaviour. He was then twenty-ſeven years of age; and this was the firſt time of his being entruſted with the command; which was not done, till he had eſtabliſhed ſuch a character as ſhewed him highly worthy of this honour. The king ſaid to him in public, at his departure (a) "My ſon, in ſending you to command my armies, "I give you an opportunity to diſplay your merit

(a) September 22. 1688.

"go and ſhew it to all Europe; ſo that when I "ſhall come to die, I may appear to be ſtill living "in you."

The prince had a ſpecial commiſſion made out for his command in the ſame manner as if he had been any other general whom the king had choſen. His father directed to him thus: "To my ſon the "Dauphin, my lieutenant-general, and commander "of my armies in Germany."

Every thing was ſettled and diſpoſed with the utmoſt carefulneſs, for the campaign in Germany, that the ſon of Lewis, who honoured it with his name and preſence, might not meet with any diſgrace. The marſhal de Duras, in reality, commanded the army. Bouflers headed a body of troops on this ſide the Rhine; and marſhal d'Humieres was poſted with another towards Cologne, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the ſiege of Philipſbourg was likewiſe begun; an undertaking always thought firſt neceſſary, when France carried on a war in Germany. Vauban conducted the ſiege; and all the ſcenes of action, which fell not to him, devolved upon Catinat, the lieutenant-general; a man who had courage and abilities equal to any enterprize. His royal highneſs the Dauphin arrived ſix days after the trenches were opened: he imitated the conduct of his father, expoſing himſelf to danger, when neceſſary, with great intrepidity, though without raſhneſs; affable to every body, and liberal to the ſoldiers. The king felt a ſincere joy in having a ſon, who imitated without eclipſing him, and who, without raiſing the jealouſy of his father, made himſelf univerſally beloved.

Philipſbourg was taken in nineteen days (*b*), Manheim in three, and Frankendal in two; Spires, Treves, Worms, and Oppenheim, ſurrendered as ſoon as the French appeared before their gates (*c*).

The king had reſolved to make a perfect deſart of the Palatinate, as ſoon as the towns ſhould be taken: his deſign in this was rather to cut off all ſubſiſtence from his enemies, than to revenge himſelf of the elector Palatine, who had indeed done nothing but his duty, in entering into a league with the reſt of Germany againſt France. There came an order from Lewis, ſigned Louvois, to reduce all to aſhes. The French generals, being obliged to obey, accordingly gave notice to the citizens of thoſe towns, but lately repaired, and then ſo flouriſhing, to the inhabitants of the villages, and to the owners of above fifty caſtles, that they muſt immediately quit their habitations, though it happened then to be the dead of winter; for that all was to be deſtroyed by fire and ſword (*d*). Men and women, old and young, accordingly moved off in the utmoſt trepidation: ſome wandering about in the fields, and others took refuge in the neighbouring countries, whilſt the ſoldiery, who generally exceed the orders of ſeverity, and come ſhort of thoſe of clemency, burnt and ſacked the country of this wretched people. They begun with Manheim, the reſidence of the electors: their houſes and palaces were raſed to the ground; nay, the very graves were ranſacked by the rapacious ſoldiery; who, imagining they ſhould find treaſures there, diſturbed the aſhes of the dead. This was the ſecond time that beautiful country was laid waſte under Lewis

(*b*) Nov. 2. 1688. (*c*) Nov. 15. 1688. (*d*) Feb. 1689.

XIV. but the flames, with which Turenne had deſtroyed two towns and twenty villages of the Palatinate, were but ſparks in compariſon of this laſt terrible deſtruction, which all Europe looked upon with horror. The officers themſelves, who executed theſe orders, were aſhamed at being the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverity. They highly reflected on the marquis de Louvois, who, from a long miniſtry, had contracted an inhumanity and hardneſs of heart: he it was, indeed, who adviſed theſe cruel meaſures; but Lewis had it in his power not to follow them. Had the king beheld this tragical ſcene, with his own hands he would have extinguiſhed the flames: but when he ſigned the deſtruction of a whole country, he was ſeated in his own palace at Verſailles, ſurrounded with pleaſures; and it appeared there only a lawful act of power, and the unfortunate right of war. Had he viewed the affair itſelf, it muſt have filled him with the utmoſt horror. Nations, who had hitherto only blamed, whilſt they admired his ambition, now exclaimed aloud againſt his barbarity, and highly condemned his policy; for if his enemies could have penetrated into his dominions, after his own example, they would have reduced his towns to aſhes.

This danger was to be feared; for Lewis, by covering his frontiers with an hundred thouſand ſoldiers, had taught Germany to make the like efforts. This country, being more populous than France, was able to furniſh greater armies: theſe, indeed, are raiſed, aſſembled, and paid, with more difficulty; it requires likewiſe more time before they are able to make a figure in the field; but their diſcipline, and patience of fatigue, renders them, towards

the end of the campaign, as formidable as the French are at the beginning. Charles V. duke of Lorrain, then commanded them: this prince, always ſtripped of his dominions by Lewis XIV. and never able to regain them, had preſerved the empire to the emperor Leopold, and gained ſeveral victories over the Turks and Hungarians. He came now, together with the elector of Brandenbourg, to oppoſe the French power: he retook Bonn and Mentz, two inconſiderable, though regularly fortified, places. Bonn held out three months and fourteen days, and then ſurrendered (*e*); when the chief commander, baron d'Asfield, was mortally wounded, in a general aſſault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards a marſhal of France, a man of the utmoſt ſagacity and foreſight, made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions for the defence of Mentz, that his gariſon was but ſlightly fatigued, notwithſtanding the long duty they had performed: nor was his activity confined within the town; for he made one-and-twenty ſallies, and killed above five thouſand of the enemy; he ſometimes made two ſallies in broad day: in fine, he at laſt ſurrendered at the end of ſeven weeks; and this he was obliged to do for want of powder. The defence of this town merits a place in hiſtory, not only upon its own account, but becauſe of the unjuſt cenſure of the public on this occaſion. Paris, that vaſt city, ſo full of idle perſons, who pretend to judge of every tranſaction, that city, which, with ſo many tongues, and ſo many ears, has ſo few eyes, condemned d'Uxelles as a man who had neither courage nor judgment. This gentleman, who was

(*e*) October 12. 1689.

juſtly praiſed by all the moſt able officers, at his return from the campaign, happening to go to the theatre, was hooted and hiſſed by the houſe, who called aloud *Mentz!* He was obliged to withdraw; deſpiſing, as all ſenſible perſons muſt, a people who ſhewed themſelves ſuch bad judges of merit, and of whom, nevertheleſs, every one almoſt is ambitious of receiving the applauſes.

About this time *(f)*, the marſhal d'Humieres was defeated by prince Waldeck in the Netherlands, at Valencour on the Sambre: but this overthrow, though it hurt the marſhal's reputation, yet it detracted but little from the glory of the French arms. Louvois, his friend and patron, was obliged to take from him the command of that army. Neither the king nor Louvois had any affection for Luxembourg; but as both had the honour of France at heart, they inveſted him with the command, contrary to their natural inclination. He was accordingly appointed general in the Low Countries; for Louvois either at firſt made a proper choice, or, when miſtaken, rectified his error by a ſpeedy alteration. Catinat had the command in Italy. The marſhal de Lorges made a good defence in Germany; and the duke de Noailles had ſome ſucceſs in Catalonia; but the army in Flanders, commanded by Luxembourg, and that in Italy under Catinat, had a continued flow of ſucceſs. Theſe two generals were, at that time, the moſt renowned in Europe.

The marſhal duke de Luxembourg had, in his character, ſome reſemblance of the great Conde, under whom he had learned the art of war: he was

(f) June 1689.

of a forward enterprising spirit, and quick in discerning and executing, of a genius eager after knowlege; but unbounded and irregular; of an amorous disposition, which continually ingaged him in intrigues; and, though of a deformed person, as well as disagreeable countenance, yet he often met with a return of love from the fair sex: in short, his qualities were rather those of an hero than a sage.

Catinat was a person of such application and activity, that he was equal to the most arduous enterprizes, yet never piqued himself on any of his actions. He would have made a good minister, or chancellor, as well as an excellent general. He had been at first a counsellor, but had quitted his profession twenty-three years ago, from a disgust he conceived at the loss of a cause, which had been unjustly determined. He then went into the army, and served at first as an ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667 at the attack of the counterscarp of Lisle, in sight of the king, he performed an exploit, which required both courage and conduct. His majesty remarked him particularly; and his fortune commenced from that time; for he was raised by degrees without the least solicitation. He was a perfect philosopher in the midst of grandeur and war, the two most dangerous rocks to moderation; and free from all prejudices, without affecting too much to despise them. In regard to gallantry, and other courtly intrigues, he was utterly ignorant; but he cultivated friendship with great sincerity, and always behaved with the strictest honour. As he was entirely free from pride, so was he likewise from all narrow selfishness: in short, he shewed himself a re-

real philoſopher throughout all his life, as well as at his death.

Catinat commanded then in Italy. He was oppoſed by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; a prince equally famous for his wiſdom, policy, and misfortunes: he was a courageous general, headed his own armies, expoſed himſelf as a common ſoldier, and was perfectly acquainted with that ſort of war generally carried on in confined and mountainous countries, ſuch as his was: he was a perſon of great activity as well as vigilance, and a remarkable lover of order; but, with all his qualifications, he was often guilty of miſconduct both as a prince and as a general. It is ſaid, he was guilty of an error in the diſpoſition of his army againſt that of Catinat. The French general took advantage of this, and gained a complete victory, in ſight of Saluces, near the abbey of Staſarde, from whence the battle was named. When there happens to be a great number ſlain on one ſide, and but a few on the other, this is an inconteſtable proof, that the vanquiſhed army fought in a ſituation wherein they muſt unavoidably be defeated. The French army loſt only three hundred men, though that of the allies, under the duke of Savoy, had four thouſand killed on the ſpot. After this battle, all Savoy, except Monmelian, was ſubjected. Catinat then marched into Piedmont; forced the enemy's trenches near Suſa; took that place, Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, which was reckoned impregnable, Veillane, Carmagnole (*g*), and returned again to Monmelian, which he took, after an obſtinate ſiege.

After this great ſucceſs, the French miniſter

(*g*) 1691.

thought proper to diminiſh the army under his command, whilſt the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, now weaker than his vanquiſhed enemy, was obliged, for a conſiderable time, to act only on the defenſive; but, having at laſt received a reinforcement, he deſcended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and there gained a ſecond pitched battle (*h*); which was the more glorious, as prince Eugene of Savoy was one of the enemy's commanders.

On the other ſide of France towards the Low Countries, marſhal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus. This victory, as all the officers acknowleged was chiefly owing to the ſuperior genius of the French commander over the prince of Waldeck, then general of the allied army. In this action, eight thouſand of the enemy were made priſoners, and ſix thouſand killed; two hundred of their ſtandards, with all their artillery and baggage, were likewiſe taken, and their whole army, in ſhort, completely routed, and put to flight (*i*).

King William, having vanquiſhed his father-in-law, was returned to the continent: he had a genius ſo fruitful in reſources, that he often drew more advantage from a defeat, than the French did from their victories: and though he was obliged to have recourſe to all manner of intrigues and negotiations, to raiſe money and forces to carry on a war againſt a prince, whoſe word was a law; yet, ſoon after the defeat of Fleurus, he appeared at the head of an army as ſtrong as the French, to oppoſe Luxembourg (*k*).

The two armies conſiſted each of about eighty thouſand Men. Mons was inveſted by Luxem-

(*h*) Oct. 4. 1691. (*i*) June 30. 1690. (*k*) Sept. 19. 1690.

bourg (*l*), before king William believed the French had moved out of their winter-quarters. Lewis himſelf was preſent at the ſiege; and entered the town on the ninth day after the trenches were opened, in ſight of the allied army. Immediately after, he departed for Verſailles, leaving Luxembourg to carry on that campaign, which was finiſhed by the battle of Leuſes (*m*); a moſt extraordinary action, in which eighteen ſquadrons of the houſhold troops of France, and the gendarmery, defeated ſeventy-five ſquadrons of the enemy.

Lewis again appeared at the ſiege of Namur, the ſtrongeſt place in the Netherlands, by its ſituation at the confluence of the Sambre and Maeſe, and the ſtrength of its citadel built upon the rocks. He took this city in about a week, and the forts in twenty-two days (*n*); whilſt the duke of Luxembourg was poſted near the Mehaigne with twenty-four thouſand men, to hinder the paſſage of William, who had eighty thouſand, and prevent his attempting to raiſe the ſiege. After this conqueſt the king again returned to Verſailles, and left Luxembourg to oppoſe the confederate army. About this time happened the battle of Steenkirk, famous for ſtratagem and valour. The enemy having diſcovered a French ſpy in their army obliged him, before they put him to death, to write falſe advice to marſhal Luxembourg; in conſequence of which, the French general took ſuch meaſures as promiſed ſucceſs; but as the intelligence was falſe they had a contrary effect: his army was attacked by day-break, before the troops were awake: a whole brigade was put to flight be-

(*l*) April 9. 1691. (*m*) Sept. 1691. (*n*) June 1692.

fore the marſhal ſcarce knew of the enemy's arrival: and all would have been utterly deſtroyed, if not prevented by the moſt unparalleled diligence and valour.

To be a great general is not ſufficient to prevent a defeat, without diſciplined troops capable of rallying, and general officers both able and willing to retrieve the diſtreſs; for one ſuperior officer alone, who had been willing to take advantage of this confuſion, in order to bring about his general's defeat, might have done it eaſily without being diſcovered.

Luxembourg was at this time (o) indiſpoſed; an unfortunate circumſtance at a juncture which required new ſtrength and vigour. The ſenſe of the preſent danger, however, rouſed his ſtrength. To prevent a defeat, he muſt perform wonders; and he did ſo: he changed his ground, in order to give his army another and more convenient ſituation for an engagement; he recovered the right brigade, which was in the utmoſt diſorder; he thrice rallied his forces, and thrice charged the enemy at the head of the houſhold troops; and all this in leſs than two hours. He had then in his army the duke de Charters, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandſon of France, not above fifteen years of age: it was not to be expected, that ſuch a youth could be of ſervice in any deciſive ſtroke; the ſight, however, of a grandſon of France, at ſuch an age, charging at the head of the houſhold troops, wounded in battle, and, notwithſtanding that, yet continuing in the combat, greatly animated the ſoldiery.

(o) Auguſt 3. 1692.

There were likewiſe a grandſon and a grand-nephew of the great Conde, who both ſerved as lieutenant-generals: one was Lewis duke de Bourbon, the other Armand prince of Conti, rivals to each other in courage, ſpirit, ambition, and reputation: the duke was of a temper more reſerved than the other, and had, perhaps, more ſolid qualities, whilſt the prince had more ſhining ones: they had been both called upon by the public voice to the command of armies, and both had a paſſionate deſire for ſuch a glory; but neither of them ever arrived at it; for Lewis, who knew their ambition to be as great as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Conde had declared war againſt him.

The prince of Conti was the firſt who contributed to retrieve the diſorder, by rallying the brigades, and making others advance to their ſuccour. The duke performed his duty with the ſame ſpirit, not even requiring emulation to ſpur him on. The duke de Vendome, grandſon of Henry IV. was alſo a lieutenant-general in this army: he had ſerved from the age of twelve years; and, though then in his fortieth, yet he had never commanded in chief: he was accompanied by his brother the grand-prior.

All theſe princes were obliged to head the houſhold troops, in order to diſlodge a body of Engliſh, poſted in an advantageous place; and on this the ſucceſs of the battle depended. The houſhold troops, and the Engliſh, were then the beſt in the world. A moſt dreadful ſlaughter enſued: the French, however, animated by the preſence of ſo many princes and nobles, who fought round the general, at laſt gained the advantage; and the

Engliſh being defeated, the reſt of the confederate army were forced to give ground.

Bouflers, afterwards a marſhal of France, who happened to be ſome miles from the field of battle during the action, came up, at this juncture, with his dragoons, and completed the victory. King William, having loſt ſeven thouſand men, retired with as much order as he had attacked; and, though defeated, yet always to be feared, he ſtill kept the field. This victory, won by the valour of theſe young princes, and the very flower of the French nobility, produced ſuch an effect at court, at Paris, and in the provinces, as no other had ever done before.

The duke de Bourbon, the prince of Conti, the duke de Vendome, with his brother and all their friends at their return, found the roads lined with the populace, who received them with loud acclamations, and a joy that proceeded almoſt to madneſs: all the women preſſed forward, with the utmoſt eagerneſs, to ſee and be ſeen by theſe heroes. It was at that time the faſhion amongſt the men to wear laced cravats, which they generally took ſome pains and time to put on properly: the princes, having dreſſed themſelves in a hurry for the battle, had thrown them careleſly about their necks: the ladies, upon this, wore handkerchiefs in that taſte, which they called *ſteenkirks;* all the new trinkets were made *a la ſteenkerque;* and any young fellow, who had been at the late battle, was received everywhere with the higheſt favour. The people crouded from all parts about the princes, who were univerſally beloved; and the more, becauſe their favour at court was far from being equal to their glory.

The ſame general, with the ſame princes, and the

ſame troops, which had been ſurpriſed, and yet came off victorious, at Steenkirk, the following campaign, attacked king William, after a march of one-and-twenty miles, and defeated him at Nerwinde, a village near the Guette, ſome leagues from Bruſſels. William had juſt time to draw up his army in order of battle. Luxembourg, and the princes, twice carried the village ſword in hand; but the enemy as often retook it, as ſoon as Luxembourg turned to another quarter: the French, however, at laſt gained it a third time, and the battle ended in their favour (*p*). Few battles were ever more bloody: there were killed on the ſpot, in all, twenty thouſand men; twelve thouſand of the allies, and eight thouſand French. On this occaſion it was ſaid, they ought rather to have ſung *De profundis* than *Te Deum*.

All theſe victories procured great glory, but little advantage. The allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steenkirk, and Nerwinde, had not yet been effectually worſted. King William always made excellent retreats; and, about fifteen days after one battle, another generally followed, in order to determine who ſhould keep the field. The cathedral of Paris was hung round with the enemy's colours; which gave occaſion to the prince of Conti to call Luxembourg *the upholſterer of Notre-Dame*. There was nothing now talked of but victories. Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered the half of Holland and Flanders, and all Franche-Comte, without fighting a ſingle battle: but now, after ſo many grand efforts, and bloody victories, he could not penetrate into the united provinces, nor lay ſiege to Bruſſels.

(*p*) July 29. 1693.

The marſhal de Lorges had alſo gained a conſiderable victory near Spierbach (*q*): he had even taken priſoner the old duke de Wittemberg, and penetrated into the heart of his country; but, after all this ſucceſs, he had been forced to retire. The Dauphin had twice taken and ſacked Heidelberg, which the enemy as often retook: ſo that his highneſs was at laſt obliged to act only on the defenſive againſt the Imperialiſts.

Marſhal de Catinat, after the victory at Stafarda, and the conqueſt of all Savoy, could not even ſave Dauphine from an irruption of the duke of Savoy; neither was he able, after his victory at Marſeilles, to preſerve the important town of Caſal.

In Spain the marſhal de Noailles alſo gained a battle near the banks of the river Ter (*r*). He took Girona, and ſome other inconſiderable places: but he had only a weak army, and was obliged after his victory, to retire from before Barcelona. The French, victorious on all ſides, and weakened with ſucceſs, found the allies to be an hydra, always ſpringing up afreſh. It began now to be ſomewhat difficult to muſter up recruits in France, and more ſo to raiſe money. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon (*s*), having deſtroyed the fruits of the earth, brought on a famine alſo at this time; ſo that, in the midſt of their *Te Deums* and rejoicings, the French were periſhing with want and miſery. Their wonted ſpirit, and notion of ſuperiority, the very ſoul of the French troops, began likewiſe to ſink apace. Lewis had ceaſed to command them; Louvois was dead (*t*), and they were highly diſſatisfied with his ſon Bar-

(*q*) Sept. 1. & 2. 1692. (*r*) May 27. 1694. (*s*) 1694. (*t*) 1691.

beſieux: finally, the death of marſhal Luxembourg (*u*), under whom the ſoldiers thought themſelves invincible, ſeemed to put an end to the rapid courſe of France's victories.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ſhips, was now uſed againſt its inventors: that infernal machine, with which the Engliſh attempted to deſtroy St. Malo, and which blew up too ſoon to do execution, did not owe its original to the ingenuity of France: theſe fire-ſhips had been uſed in Europe a conſiderable time before; but it is the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving veſſel as from the ſolid ground, which the French claim as their invention: and it was by this art that Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, were bombarded by the Engliſh fleets (*x*). Dieppe, being the moſt acceſſible, was the only one which ſuffered conſiderable damage. This town now ſo agreeable by the regularity of its buildings, which owes its preſent beauty to its former deſtruction, was almoſt intirely reduced to aſhes. In Havre-de-grace there were only about twenty houſes deſtroyed; but the fortifications of the harbour were utterly demoliſhed. In this ſenſe then, the medal ſtruck in Holland is founded on truth, though the French hiſtorians have exclaimed againſt its falſity. The exergue is in Latin, to this purpoſe; *The harbour of Havre burnt and demoliſhed*, &c. This inſcription does not ſay the town was deſtroyed, which would have been falſe; but that the harbour was deſtroyed, which was the real truth.

Soon after, we again loſt Namur. In France

(*u*) January 1695. (*x*) July 1694. & 1695.

they had beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Lewis XIV. for taking this place; nor had they been leſs profuſe of their raillery, and indecent reflections, againſt William, for not being able to relieve it with an army of eighty thouſand men.

William made himſelf maſter of the place, in the ſame manner he had ſeen it taken. He attacked it in ſight of an army much ſtronger than that he commanded, when Lewis beſieged Namur. He found there many new fortifications, raiſed by Vauban: the French gariſon, which defended it, was a real army; for, during his preparations to inveſt the place, marſhal Bouflers had thrown himſelf into the town with ſeven regiments of dragoons: thus, Namur was defended with ſixteen thouſand men, and every moment expecting to be relieved by an hundred thouſand more. Marſhal de Bouflers was an active and indefatigable general, and a true patriot; employing his whole thoughts for the ſervice of his country, which he loved as much as life itſelf.

The marquis de Feuquieres, in his Memoirs, blames Bouflers for many pieces of miſconduct in his defence of the town and citadel of Namur; nay, he even reflects upon him for his defence of Liſle, which redounded ſo much to his honour. The writers of Lewis XIV.'s reign have all ſervilely copied the marquis for affairs of war, as they have the abbe de Choiſi for private hiſtories. They did not, or, perhaps had not an opportunity to know, that Feuquieres, though an excellent officer, who knew the practice and theory of war, was a man of no leſs chagrin than brightneſs of genius, the Ariſtarchus of generals, and ſometimes the Zoilus. He miſrepreſents facts, in order to have the plea-

ſure of cenſuring faults: he reproached every body almoſt, and, in his turn, was alſo univerſally reproached; thence he was ſaid to be the braveſt man in Europe, becauſe he ſlept every night amidſt an hundred thouſand enemies. His merit not having been diſtinguiſhed with a marſhal's ſtaff, he therefore employed, againſt all the officers of ſtate, his whole wit and talents; which might have been of great ſervice to the public, had he been as happy in his temper as he was active, diſcerning and bold.

He reproaches marſhal de Villeroi with more and greater miſconduct than Bouflers. Villeroi, at the head of eighty thouſand men, was to have ſuccoured Namur: but, had even the two marſhals done all in their power, the ſituation of the ground was ſuch, that Namur could not have been relieved, and muſt have ſurrendered ſooner or later: and the army poſted on the banks of the Mehaigne, in the ſame manner as that which had before obſtructed William, now neceſſarily proved the like hindrance to marſhal de Villeroi's army.

Marſhal de Bouflers, the count de Guiſcard, governor of Namur, the count de Laumont de Chatelet, commander of the infantry, together with all the officers and ſoldiers, defended the town with wonderful obſtinacy and valour; but all did not retard its being taken above two days. When a town is beſieged by a ſuperior army, the works properly conducted, and the ſeaſon favourable, one may gueſs pretty nearly in what time it will be taken, though the defence be ever ſo vigorous. King William carried the city and citadel of Namur; but this exploit coſt him a little more time than it had done Lewis XIV.

The king, at the time when he loſt Namur,

ordered Bruſſels to be bombarded (*y*): a fruitleſs revenge which he took on the king of Spain, for thoſe towns lately bombarded by the Engliſh. It was equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

It is now two centuries ſince the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Europeans, not contented to confine their fury within their own continent, have carried the deſolations of war to the moſt diſtant countries. We now drain ourſelves of money and men, to go to deſtroy one another in the remoteſt parts of Aſia and America. The Indians, whom we have obliged, by force or artifice, to receive our ſettlements, and the Americans, of whom we have butchered ſuch numbers, and driven from their poſſeſſions, look upon us as enemies of the human race, who come from the fartheſt parts of the world to cut their throats, and then to plunge our ſwords into each other's boſoms.

The French had, at this time, no other colony in the Eaſt Indies but Ponticherry, which Colbert had eſtabliſhed at an immenſe expence; but no advantage could be reaped from it for ſeveral years. The Dutch eaſily took it; and thus ruined the commerce of France in India, when in its infancy.

The Engliſh deſtroyed the French ſettlement at St. Domingo (*z*). A privateer from Breſt ravaged the Engliſh colony at the iſle of Gambia in Afric (*a*). The privateers of St. Malo had likewiſe carried fire and ſword into their poſſeſſions in the eaſt ſide of Newfoundland, which they poſſeſſed. Their iſland of Jamaica had been alſo haraſſed by our ſquadrons, their veſſels taken and burnt, and their coaſts plundered.

Pointis (*b*), the commander of the ſquadron, with

(*y*) Sept. 1695. (*z*) 1695. (*a*) 1696. (*b*) 1695.

a conſiderable number of the king's ſhips, and ſome American corſairs, went beyond the line to ſurpriſe the town of Carthagena (*c*), the magazine of all the treaſure which Spain brings from Mexico. The damage he did there, was computed at twenty millions of livres, and his gain at ten millions: but ſomewhat is always to be abated in theſe calculations; though nothing in thoſe extreme calamities ariſing from ſuch glorious expeditions.

The Dutch and Engliſh merchantmen were daily made prizes by the French privateers, but eſpecially by Dugue-Trouin, a man of a ſingular genius, who wanted only the command of fleets to gain him the reputation of a Dragut, or a Barberoſſe. The enemy did not take ſo many of the French merchant-ſhips; for they had fewer to take; their commerce being greatly declined by the war, and the death of Colbert.

The reſult of theſe ſea and land expeditions was univerſal calamity. Thoſe who have more humanity than policy will certainly take notice, that, in this war, Lewis was in arms againſt the king of Spain, his own nephew; againſt the elector of Bavaria, whoſe ſiſter had been married to the Dauphin; and againſt the elector Palatine, whoſe dominions he laid waſte by fire and ſword, after he had married monſieur to the princeſs Palatine. King James was dethroned by his own ſon-in-law and daughter. We even afterwards ſaw the duke of Savoy joining in a league againſt France, where one of his daughters was dauphineſs, and againſt Spain, where another was queen. In ſhort, moſt of the

(*c*) May 1697.

wars amongſt Chriſtian princes, are a kind of civil wars.

The moſt criminal undertaking in all this war, was the moſt ſucceſsful one; for William ſucceeded in every thing in England and Ireland; on the continent the ſucceſſes were pretty equally balanced. When I call this undertaking criminal, I do not pretend to examine, whether the Engliſh nation, after having ſpilt the father's blood, was in the right or in the wrong to proſcribe the ſon, and to defend their religion and liberty; I ſay only, if there is any ſuch thing as juſtice upon earth, ſurely it was repugnant thereto, for the ſon-in-law and daughter of James to drive him from his dwelling houſe.

CHAPTER XVI.

The peace of Ryſwick; the ſtate of Europe, and of France in particular; the death and teſtament of Charles II. king of Spain.

FRANCE ſtill preſerved the ſuperiority over all her enemies. She had intirely cruſhed ſome of them, as Savoy and the Palatinate; and had commenced hoſtilities on the frontiers of others: ſhe was a ſtrong and powerful body, but fatigued by a long reſiſtance, and exhauſted by her victories. One blow ſtruck properly, would have made her ſtagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once, cannot, in the end, be ſafe, but by a peace, or by their diviſion; both which Lewis XIV. ſoon after brought about.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, of all the allied princes, knew beſt what meaſures to take, when he found it conducive to his intereſt to break his engagements: it was to him then that the court of France firſt applied. The count de Teſſe, afterwards marſhal of France, a nobleman of an amiable diſpoſition, as well as great abilities, and remarkable for his affability, a talent highly requiſite in carrying on negotiations, was accordingly ſent to Turin, to ſound matters privately: and marſhal Catinat, a man equally formed for the affairs of peace or war, brought the matter to a concluſion. There was no neceſſity, indeed, for two ſuch able ſtateſmen to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of offers ſo advantageous. They reſtored him his dominions; they gave him money, and propoſed a marriage betwixt the young duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's ſon, heir to the crown of France, and his daughter. In ſhort, the affair was ſoon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty at Notre Dame de Loretto (*a*), whither they went under pretence of a religious pilgrimage; but almoſt every body ſaw through their deſign. Innocent XII. the pope at that time, was extremely deſirous of entering into this negotiation. His deſign was at once to deliver Italy from the invaſions of the French, and the continual taxes exacted by the emperor for the payment of his armies: he wanted the Imperialiſts to leave Italy neuter; and the duke of Savoy accordingly engaged to procure him this neutrality by the treaty. The emperor at firſt ſtood out; for the court of Vienna ſeldom came to a determination till

(*a*) July 1696.

the laſt extremity. The duke of Savoy then joined his army to the French; and, in leſs than a month, this prince from being the generaliſſimo of the emperor became that of Lewis XIV. His daughter was carried into France, at eleven years of age, to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was only thirteen. After the duke of Savoy had gone off from the league, it happened then, as before in the peace of Nimegen, that each of the allies began to treat ſeparately. The emperor was the firſt, and accepted of the neutrality of Italy. The Dutch propoſed the caſtle of Ryſwick, near the Hague, to hold the conferences in, for a general peace. The four armies, which Lewis had then in the field, haſtened matters to a concluſion: he had twenty-four thouſand men in Flanders, under Villeroi; marſhal de Choiſeul was at the head of forty thouſand, on the banks of the Rhine; and Catinat commanded as many in Piedmont. The duke de Vendome, who, from a volunteer in the king's guards, had gone through all the different ſtations in the army, was now at laſt head general in Catalonia, where he had gained a victory, and taken Barcelona. Theſe new and ſucceſsful efforts were efficacious mediators for the peace. The court of Rome offered her mediation; but this was rejected, as before at Nimegen. Charles XI. king of Sweden, was pitched upon as mediator. The peace, in ſhort, was at laſt concluded (*b*); but not with ſuch loftineſs, nor on ſuch advantageous conditions, as had formerly diſtinguiſhed the grandeur of Lewis XIV.; for, on the contrary, every thing came from his ſide with a remarkable moderation and condeſcenſion. This he conſidered as

(*b*) September, October 1679.

good policy, and as neceſſary to make him greater and more powerful than ever.

The king of Spain, having been worn out by a complication of diſtempers before his fortieth year, was now near his end: after his death, the poſterity of Charles the fifth would be extinct; for he had no more children. Lewis XIV. had a natural right to the Spaniſh crown, as being grandſon to Philip III. by Anne of Auſtria; and the Dauphin was equally intitled by Maria-Thereſa, as grandſon to Philip the fourth.

The great aim of Lewis, as it really ought to have been, was to prevent the ſucceſſion of all that vaſt monarchy of his own, and his ſon's grandfather, from falling wholly into the other branch of the Auſtrian family. He hoped, that the houſe of Bourbon would be able, at leaſt, to lay hold of ſome portion thereof; and that, at laſt, ſhe might perhaps get the whole into her poſſeſſion. The ſolemn renunciations of his mother and wife appeared to Lewis as formal trifles, that ought to be aboliſhed when new circumſtances aroſe. In this ſcheme for the aggrandizing of France, or the houſe of Bourbon, it was neceſſary, however, to put on an appearance of moderation to Europe, not to provoke ſo many jealous powers. The peace now gave him time to procure new allies, to re-eſtabliſh his former finances, as well as to create others which ſeemed needful, and to train up a new ſoldiery. He thought proper, therefore, to make ſome conceſſions, in hopes of gaining thereby more conſiderable advantages.

The king reſtored to the Spaniards all he had taken near the Pyrenees, in the late war; as he did

alſo Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai, in Flanders. He acknowleged William as lawful king of England, hitherto ſtiled only prince of Orange, and accounted a tyrant and uſurper: he promiſed likewiſe to give no aſſiſtance to his enemies. King James, who was not even mentioned in the treaty, remained at St. Germains, living on the empty title of king, and Lewis's penſion. He ſent nothing now againſt his rival but manifeſtoes: his protector was obliged to ſacrifice him; and he was already forgotten in Europe.

The decrees paſſed by the parliaments of Briſac and Metz againſt ſo many ſovereigns, and the reunions made near Alſace, thoſe monuments of power, and dangerous tyranny, were aboliſhed: and all the juriſdictions which had been ſeized, were alſo returned to the lawful proprietors.

Beſides theſe conceſſions, Lewis reſtored Fribourg, Briſac, Kheil, and Philipſbourg, to the Empire. He alſo agreed to demoliſh the fortifications of Straſbourg on the Rhine, Fort Lewis, Traerbach, and Mont-royal; works on which Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the king his treaſures. All Europe became aſtoniſhed, and France was moved with indignation, that Lewis ſhould agree to ſuch a peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who had ſigned it, durſt not ſhew themſelves at court, nor in the city; every body loaded them with ſarcaſms and reproaches, as if they had taken a ſtep not ordered by the miniſtry. The court bitterly reflected upon them for having betrayed the honour of France. The courtiers, having more zeal than penetration,

were ignorant, that, upon this treaty, ſo ſhameful in appearance, Lewis intended to found his grandeur.

It was by this treaty that France reſtored Lorrain to the family which had enjoyed it ſeven hundred years. Duke Charles V. who had been the ſupport of the Empire, and had conquered the Turks, was dead; his ſon Leopold, at the peace of Ryſwick, took poſſeſſion of his ſovereignty; though ſtripped, indeed of his juſt rights; for he was not permitted to fortify his capital: but they could not deprive him of a more glorious right, that of acting for the good of his ſubjects; a right which no prince ever uſed ſo worthily as Leopold.

It were to be wiſhed, indeed, it could be remembered to lateſt poſterity, that one of the pettieſt princes of Europe was he who did moſt for the benefit of his people. He found Lorrain deſolate and abandoned, which he repeopled and enriched: he preſerved it always in peace, whilſt all Europe was ravaged by war: his conduct was ſo prudent, that he was always on good terms with France, and was at the ſame time beloved in the Empire; happily keeping that juſt medium, which a petty prince is ſcarce ever able to preſerve betwixt two formidable powers. He procured his people an abundance, which they had never known before; and the nobility of Lorrain, who had been reduced to extreme miſery, were raiſed to a ſtate of opulence by his acts of generoſity. If he ſaw a gentleman's houſe in ruins, he immediately had it rebuilt at his own expence: he paid their debts, and took care to have their daughters properly married. He was profuſe in his preſents; and his manner of giving was even ſuperior to his bounty; for he

ſhewed, in all his gifts, at once, the magnificence of a prince, and the politeneſs of a friend. The arts being honoured in his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a ſtate. His court was formed after the model of France; and one who had come from thence to Luneville, would almoſt imagine himſelf ſtill at Verſailles. After the example of Lewis, he made learning flouriſh: he eſtabliſhed an univerſity at Luneville for true literature, without pedantry; and thither the young nobility of Germany went to receive their education. There the true and uſeful ſciences were taught; and the principles of natural philoſophy ocularly demonſtrated by the moſt curious machines. He ſearched for men of genius and talents, even in the loweſt ſtations, and moſt obſcure retreats; and, when he found ſuch, he always encouraged and brought them to light. In ſhort, during his whole reign, his only employment was the care of procuring to his people tranquillity, riches, knowlege, and pleaſure. "I would quit my throne to-morrow, ſaid he, if I "could do no more good." Thus he enjoyed the pleaſure of being univerſally beloved; and, long after his death, I myſelf have ſeen his ſubjects ſhed tears, when his name was mentioned. In ſhort, he left an example to the greateſt princes; and, by his behaviour, not a little paved the way for his ſon to the Imperial diadem.

About the time when Lewis was ſettling the peace of Ryſwick, with a view to the ſucceſſion of Spain, the crown of Poland became vacant. This crown was the only elective one in the world; and foreigners, as well as Polanders, might put in their claim. There were two ways to procure it, either

by merit that was conſpicuous, and ſupported with intereſt, to carry the votes (as was the caſe of John Sobieſki, the laſt king), or by treaſure ſufficient to purchaſe this kingdom, which is generally put up to a kind of auction.

The abbe de Polignac, afterwards cardinal, had, at firſt, addreſs enough to carry the votes in favour of the prince de Conti, ſo well known for his gallant behaviour at Steenkirk and Nerwind: he had never, however, commanded in chief, nor been admitted into the king's privy-council: the duke of Bourbon, was reputed equal to him in warlike affairs; and the duke de Vendome was a man of greater renown for martial abilities. Nevertheleſs, his fame eclipſed that of the other two. This was owing to his art of pleaſing, and diſplaying his talents to the beſt advantage; an art which no-body ever poſſeſſed to an higher degree than Conti. Polignac, who had that of perſuading, firſt determined the electors in that prince's favour. By his eloquence and promiſes, he counterbalanced the treaſure which Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, had laviſhed with ſuch profuſion. Conti was elected by a conſiderable majority (*c*); and accordingly proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom. Two hours after Auguſtus was likewiſe choſen, by another party, much leſs in number; but he was a powerful prince, and had troops in readineſs on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was abſent, without money, without troops, and without power: he had nothing but his name, and the cardinal de Polignac. Lewis ought certainly either to have prevented his accepting of the offer of the crown, or to have ſupplied him

(*c*) June 27. 1697.

with a ſufficient force to carry it againſt his rival. The French miniſtry was thought to have done too much in ſending the prince of Conti; and too little, in giving him only a ſmall convoy, and a few bills of exchange, with which he came into the road of Dantzick. This method of beginning affairs, and dropping them, is a kind of policy frequently practiſed by the French miniſtry. The prince of Conti was not even admitted into Dantzick; and his bills were proteſted. The intrigues of the pope, thoſe of the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already ſecured the crown to his rival. He returned with the glory only of having been elected; and France had the mortification to find, that ſhe was unable to make a king of Poland.

The diſgrace of the prince of Conti did not diſturb the peace of the North amongſt the Chriſtians. The South of Europe was reſtored to quiet by the treaty of Ryſwick; ſo that there was now no other war remaining, but that which the Turks carried on with Germany, Poland, Venice, and Muſcovy. The Chriſtians, however, notwithſtanding their ill-management, and diviſions, had, in this war, the ſuperiority. Soon after, happened the battle of Zanta (*d*), in which prince Eugene routed the grand ſignor at the head of his army. This defeat, made remarkable by the death of a grand vizier, ſeventeen baſhaws, and twenty thouſand Turks, humbled the Ottoman inſolence, and brought on the peace of Carlowitz; in which the Turks were obliged to ſubmit to the terms of their conquerors (*e*). The Venetians were to have Morea, the Muſcovites Aſoph, the Poles Caminieck, and the emperor Tranſilvania.

(*d*) 1697. (*e*) 1699.

All Chriſtendom was bleſſed with perfect tranquillity, and war was not talked of either in Aſia or Africa. The world, in general, ſeemed to be in peace during the laſt two years of the ſeventeenth century; a remarkable period, but of a ſhort duration.

The public troubles ſoon began again. The North was diſturbed, in the year 1700. by two men, the moſt extraordinary that ever appeared in the world; the czar Peter Alexiovitz, emperor of Ruſſia, and young Charles XII. king of Sweden. The czar Peter, though born almoſt a ſavage, arrived to a pitch of true grandeur: by force of genius, and labour, he became the reformer, or rather founder, of his empire. Charles XII. more virtuous than Peter, and yet leſs ſerviceable to his ſubjects, being formed to command a ſoldiery, but not a people, was the firſt hero of his age: he died, however, with the character of an imprudent prince. That war, which continued eighteen years, and brought ſuch deſolation on the North, aroſe from the ambitious deſigns of the czar, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, who intended to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. in order to ſtrip him of ſome part of his dominions. Charles, when he was only ſixteen years old, conquered theſe three princes, became the terror of the North, and was reputed an hero at an age when others have not finiſhed their education. Nine years he was the moſt formidable prince in the world, and nine more the moſt unfortunate.

The freſh commotions in the South of Europe ſprung from another cauſe. A great diſpute aroſe about dividing the ſpoils of the Spaniſh monarch,

whoſe death was approaching. The powers, who already enjoyed in idea this vaſt ſucceſſion, acted in the ſame manner as generally happens during the ſickneſs of a rich old man without children: his wife, his relations, the prieſts, and the lawyers, placed to receive the laſt commands of the dying perſon, beſet him on all ſides to wreſt from him a word in their favour. Some agree to ſhare the ſpoils, whilſt others prepare to diſpute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were in the ſame degree of conſanguinity: both were grandſons of Philip III. for both had married daughters of Philip IV. His royal highneſs the Dauphin, and Joſeph king of the Romans, the emperor's ſon, had a double claim by the ſame proximity. The right of birth was in the houſe of Bourbon; for the king, and his ſon the Dauphin, had the eldeſt daughters for their mothers: but the emperor's family aſſerted for their rights, firſt and eſpecially, the ſolemn and ratified renunciations of Lewis XIII. and XIV. to the crown of Spain; then the name of Auſtria; the blood of Maximilian, from whom Leopold and Charles II. were deſcended; the almoſt conſtant union of the two Auſtrian branches, and the ſtill more conſtant hatred againſt the Bourbons; the averſion which the Spaniards had then to the French nation; and, as their laſt reſource, a certain policy they had in their power to govern the Spaniſh councils.

Theſe two rivals were not only afraid of each other, but had likewiſe all Europe to fear. The other powers, but eſpecially thoſe of England and Holland, whoſe intereſt it was to keep a balance, would never ſuffer the crown of Spain, with the

of the Empire, or of France, to be placed upon the ſame head. William had formed a deſign, even whilſt Charles II. was living, to make a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, and to give the principal part to a prince neither of the Bourbon nor Auſtrian family. This young prince, only eight years of age, was deſcended from a younger daughter of Philip IV. wife to the emperor Leopold: theſe had a daughter, married to Maximilian elector of Bavaria; and the youth, whom the Engliſh and Dutch had fixed upon, was the fruit of this marriage. The French monarch conſented to this; he being to have by the partition, Sicily, Naples, the province of Guipuſcoa, and ſeveral towns. The archduke Charles was to have Milan; and the remainder of it was to be given up to this young prince of Bavaria, whom it would be a conſiderable time before they would have any occaſion to fear. England, France, and Holland, projected and made this treaty *(f)*. * France expected to gain an addition to her territories; and the Engliſh and Dutch flattered themſelves they ſhould thereby effectually eſtabliſh quiet in one part of Europe. All this policy, however, proved of no ſignification. The dying king, being told how his monarchy was divided before his death, was moved with the higheſt indignation; and, in conſequence of it, every body expected, that he would declare the emperor, or the emperor's ſon, for his ſucceſſor, as a recompence to Leopold for not being concerned in the partition; and, in

(f) October 11. 1698.

* Larrey and Limiers ſeem to have known nothing of this firſt partition-treaty.

ſhort, that his teſtament would be intirely dictated by the power of the Auſtrian family, and wholly agreeable to its wiſhes. He made one, indeed; but, in this, he declared the ſame young prince of Bavaria, whom we have mentioned, heir to all his dominions. The Spaniſh nation, who feared nothing ſo much as the diſmembering their monarchy, highly applauded this diſpoſition; and they hoped, a general peace would be the effect of it. Theſe hopes, however, were as vain as the partition-treaty; for the prince of Bavaria, the deſigned king, died at Bruſſels (*g*).

The houſe of Auſtria was unjuſtly accuſed, as being the cauſe of this ſudden death; and this only upon the bare probability, that a crime is moſt likely to be committed by thoſe to whom it ſeems moſt advantageous. The intrigues and cabals were renewed in the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Verſailles, London, Rome, and the Hague.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the ſtates general, made another imaginary diviſion of the Spaniſh monarchy. They aſſigned to the archduke Charles, younger ſon of the emperor, what they had before given to the deceaſed youth (*h*).

They allotted Milan to the duke of Lorrain; and his duchy, which had been ſo often taken, and as often reſtored, by the French, was to be for ever annexed to the crown of France. This treaty, which put in motion the politics of all the princes either to oppoſe or defend it, proved to as little purpoſe as the former. Europe was again diſappointed in her expectation, as happens almoſt always.

(*g*) Feb. 1699. (*h*) March 1700.

The emperor would not ſign this treaty of partition; becauſe he was in great hopes of having the whole ſucceſſion. The French monarch, who had preſſed the ſigning of it, waited the event in the utmoſt ſuſpenſe.

The king of Spain, being ſenſible of his declining ſtate though in the flower of his age, was inclined to ſettle his whole monarchy on the archduke Charles, nephew to his queen, and ſecond ſon to the emperor Leopold: for ſo much was he convinced of the neceſſity of paying ſome regard to the balancing ſyſtem, that he became afraid of naming the eldeſt ſon his ſucceſſor; ſuch a ſtep he ſaw plainly would alarm the reſt of Europe, and all the other powers would immediately have recourſe to arms, when they ſaw Spain, with the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the ſame hands. He therefore requeſted the Emperor Leopold to ſend his ſecond ſon, Charles, to Madrid, with ten thouſand men; but this would not then have been ſuffered by France, England, Holland, nor Italy; for all were ſollicitous to bring about the partition. The emperor would not venture his ſon alone to the mercy of the Spaniſh council; and he knew he could not march ten thouſand men to that kingdom. His intention was only to ſend a ſufficient body of troops into Italy, to ſecure himſelf in this part of the Spaniſh-Auſtrian monarchy. It happened, in the important affairs of theſe two grand princes, as we daily ſee amongſt private perſons about their little concerns; they diſputed, and then grew out of temper: the German haughtineſs raiſed the Caſtilian pride. The counteſs de Perlitz, who intirely go-

verned the queen of the dying monarch, contributed likewiſe to alienate the affections of many at Madrid, whom ſhe ought rather to have gained; and the council of Vienna rendered things ſtill more irreconcileable by their haughty procedure.

The young archduke, afterwards the emperor Charles VI. generally called the Spaniards by ſome reproachful names. But he learned from thence how cautious a prince ought to be in his expreſſions. The biſhop of Lerida, embaſſador from Madrid at Vienna, being diſguſted at the Germans, repreſented what Charles had ſaid in the worſt light, in his diſpatches to Madrid; and he himſelf wrote againſt the houſe of Auſtria, in terms more reproachful than any which the archduke had thrown out againſt the Spaniards: "The minds of the mi-"niſters of Leopold," ſaid he, "are like the goat's "horns in my country, little, ſtubborn, and crook-"ed." This letter became public: the biſhop of Lerida was recalled; and, at his return to Madrid, he not a little heightened the antipathy of the Spaniards againſt the Auſtrians.

Many other little trifling incidents, which are generally connected with affairs of importance, contributed likewiſe to bring about that great change which happened in Europe, and prepared the way for that revolution, by which the houſe of Auſtria for ever loſt Spain and the Indies. Cardinal Portocarero and the moſt conſiderable of the Spaniſh grandees having formed themſelves into a party, to prevent the diſmembering of their monarchy, perſuaded Charles II. to prefer a younger grandſon of Lewis XIV. to a prince ſo remote from them, and ſo incapable to defend them. This, they ſaid, would

no violation of the ſolemn renunciations of the mother and queen of Lewis XIV. to the crown of Spain: ſince theſe had been made on purpoſe to prevent the elder ſons from coming into poſſeſſion of the two kingdoms; and, for that reaſon, they had choſen a younger ſon. It would be likewiſe doing juſtice to the right of blood, at the ſame time that it would preſerve the Spaniſh monarchy from a partition. The ſcrupulous king conſulted divines upon this point; who were of the ſame opinion with his council. He then, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote with his own hand to the pope, deſiring his opinion in the affair. The pope Innocent XII. who ſaw plainly, that the liberty of Italy depended greatly on the houſe of Auſtria's being weakened, wrote to Charles, "that the laws of Spain, and the "welfare of all Chriſtendom, required him to give "the preference to the family of Bourbon." This letter was dated the 16th of July 1700. His holineſs, we ſee, of a caſe of conſcience made a ſtate-affair; whilſt his catholic majeſty converted an important affair of ſtate into a caſe of conſcience.

Lewis XIV. was informed of theſe proceedings; but his council had not the leaſt concern in this great event: at this juncture there was not even an embaſſador at Madrid. Marſhal d'Harcourt had been recalled ſix months before; the partition-treaty, which France was to ſupport by her arms, having rendered her miniſter highly obnoxious at the Spaniſh court. The French had now only at Madrid one of the ſecretaries to Harcourt's embaſſy, who managed their affairs. This man has, indeed, been ſtiled envoy in all the gazettes, and hiſtories gene-

rally copied from thence; but there is certainly a wide difference betwixt real titles and thoſe that are only nominal.

All Europe imagined, that the will of Charles II. had been intirely dictated by the court of Verſailles: but the dying prince had wholly conſulted the intereſt of his kingdom, and the wiſhes, nay, even fears, of his ſubjects; for the French monarch had ordered a body of troops to march to the frontiers of Spain; and theſe were to be commanded by the marſhal d'Harcourt. Nothing, indeed, is more true than this, that the reputation of Lewis, and the idea of his power, were the only negotiators which operated in this revolution. Charles of Auſtria, after having ſigned the ruin of his own houſe, and the grandeur of that of Bourbon, languiſhed about a month longer, and then ended his obſcure life, in the thirty-ninth year of his age (*i*). Perhaps, it may not be altogether uſeleſs, in order to ſhew ſomewhat of human nature, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, ordered the graves to be opened in the Eſcurial, of his father, mother, and firſt queen, Maria-Louiſa of Orleans, who was ſuſpected to have been poiſoned by his command; as may be ſeen in the chapter of Anecdotes; and he kiſſed the remains of their bodies. In this he either followed the example of ſome ancient kings of Spain; or he was deſirous to accuſtom himſelf to the horror of death; or had, perhaps, ſome ſecret ſuperſtitious notion, that the opening of theſe tombs would retard his fatal hour.

The particulars of his will were kept ſo ſecret, that the count de Harrac, embaſſador from his Im-

(*i*) October 1. 1700.

perial majeſty, ſtill flattered himſelf, that the archduke was nominated ſucceſſor: he waited, for a conſiderable time, the iſſue of the grand council held immediately after the king's death; and the duke d'Abrantes at laſt approaching him with open arms, Harrac made then no doubt, that the archduke was king; when the duke, embracing him, ſaid, *Vengo ad expedir me de la caſa de Auſtria*; "I come to "take my leave of the houſe of Auſtria."

Thus, after two hundred years ſpent in wars, and fruitleſs negotiations, for only a part of the Spaniſh frontiers, the houſe of Bourbon, by a daſh of the pen, at laſt got the whole Spaniſh monarchy, without treaties, without cabals, and even without the leaſt hope of ſuch a ſucceſſion. We thought ourſelves obliged to bring to light a fact hitherto darkened and miſrepreſented by ſo many miniſters and hiſtorians, blinded by prejudices, and outward appearances, which generally lead into error. All that has been publiſhed in ſo many volumes, in relation to money ſpent on the occaſion by marſhal d'Harcourt, and the Spaniſh miniſters bribed to procure this will, muſt be ranked amongſt political falſhoods, and popular errors. The marquis de Torci, miniſter in France at that time for foreign affairs, has given a convincing proof of this truth, by a paper which I have under his hand. The king of Spain, in chooſing for his ſucceſſor the grandſon of a king who had been ſo long his enemy, had always his thoughts upon the effects of a general balance. The duke d'Anjou, grandſon of Lewis XIV. was called to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, becauſe he could have no expectation of inheriting the crown of France; and the ſame teſtament, which, in failure of a younger

ſon of the Bourbon family, nominated the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor Charles VI. expreſly mentioned, that the Empire and Spain muſt never be united in the ſame ſovereign.

Lewis XIV. might now either adhere to the treaty of partition, by which France would be a gainer, or accept of the will ſo advantageous to his family. It is certain, the matter was under deliberation. But, of all his privy-council, chancellor Ponchartrain was the only one who adviſed him to keep to the treaty: he ſaw the dangers which would enſue in having a new war to ſupport. Lewis ſaw them alſo; but he was accuſtomed not to fear danger: he accepted therefore of the teſtament; and, at his coming out of the council, meeting the princeſſes de Conti, and madame the ducheſs; "Well," ſaid he, ſmiling, "which courſe would you take, ladies?" Then without waiting their anſwer, "Which ſoever "I follow," added he, "I know I ſhall be blamed."

The actions of kings, though they themſelves may be flattered, always undergo many ſevere cenſures; inſomuch that the king of England himſelf had ſeveral bitter reflections thrown out againſt him in parliament; and his miniſters were perſecuted for having made the treaty of partition. The Engliſh, who reaſon better than any people, but who ſometimes ſuffer their reaſon to be extinguiſhed by fury and party-ſpirit, at once exclaimed againſt William, who made the treaty, and againſt Lewis, who broke it.

Europe ſeemed at firſt to be ſtruck with amazement, and unable to exert herſelf, when ſhe ſaw the monarchy of Spain become ſubject to France, her rival for three hundred years. Lewis XIV. appeared to be the happieſt and moſt powerful mon-

arch upon earth. He was now in his ſixty-ſecond year, ſurrounded with a numerous offſpring; and one of his grandſons was going to take upon him the ſovereignty of Spain, America, half of Italy, and the Netherlands. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, being become weak and infirm, though only in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, did not now appear a dangerous enemy; beſides, he muſt have the conſent of his parliament to declare war. Lewis had ſent over into England ſix millions of livres, by the ſtrength of which he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to gain a majority of votes in his intereſt. William and the Dutch, not having a ſufficient ſtrength to declare themſelves, wrote to Philip V. as lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was ſecure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the deceaſed young prince, who had been nominated king of Spain. This elector, governor of the Netherlands in the name of the late king Charles II. at once ſecured to Philip V. the poſſeſſion of Flanders, and opened a paſſage for the French troops through his electorate to Vienna, in caſe the emperor ſhould declare war. The elector of Cologn, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as ſtrongly in the intereſt of France as his brother; and both ſeemed to be right in their judgments; for the houſe of Bourbon was then incomparably the ſtrongeſt. The duke of Savoy had one daughter, who was ducheſs of Burgundy, and another now going to be queen of Spain: he himſelf was to command the French armies in Italy; ſo that it was not imagined he would ever declare war againſt ſuch near relations.

The duke of Mantua, who had been ſold by his

miniſtry to the French, now ſold himſelf, and received a French gariſon into his dukedom. The Milaneſe acknowleged the grandſon of Lewis without heſitating: even Portugal, the natural enemy of Spain, at firſt joined with her. In ſhort, from Liſbon to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, all was in the intereſt of the Bourbon family. The king became ſo haughty upon his proſperity, that, in ſpeaking to the duke of Rochefaucault, about ſome propoſitions made to him by the emperor, he uſed the following expreſſion: "You will find "them even more inſolent than you were told "they were."

King William, who was an enemy to the grandeur of Lewis XIV. even to his grave, promiſed the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cauſe: and he likewiſe gained Denmark in his intereſt. In fine, he ſigned, at the Hague, a treaty which had been, for ſome time, concerted againſt the Bourbon family (*k*): but the French monarch was but little moved with this; and, reckoning upon the diviſions which his money would make in the Engliſh parliament, and ſtill more upon the united ſtrength of France and Spain, he deſpiſed his enemies.

About this time, James died at St. Germains (*l*). Upon his deceaſe, Lewis immediately acknowleged the prince of Wales as lawful king of England. Had he not taken this ſtep, it is very probable the parliament of England would not have intermeddled betwixt the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria; at leaſt ſeveral of the members of that parliament have ſo aſſured me: but thus to acknowlege for their king a prince who had been proſcribed by them, appeared

(*k*) September 1700. (*l*) September 16. 1701.

an inſult to the nation, and an affecting to be arbitrary in Europe. This ſpirit of liberty, which then reigned in England, being heightened by their hatred of the power of Lewis XIV. diſpoſed the nation to give William whatever ſubſidies he demanded.

The emperor Leopold firſt began the war in Italy, in the ſpring of the year 1701. Italy has been generally the country which has felt moſt from the ambition of the emperors: here it was that his arms could moſt eaſily penetrate by the way of Tirol and Venice; for this republic, though neutral in appearance, was more inclined to the houſe of Auſtria than Bourbon: beſides, ſhe was obliged by treaty to give a paſſage to the German troops; and ſhe accordingly performed her engagements without the leaſt reluctance.

The emperor waited till the Germanic body ſhould come over to his intereſt, before he would attack Lewis on the ſide of Germany. He had a party in Spain, and a correſpondence there: but no advantage could be reaped from thence, unleſs one of his ſons were there in perſon. This could not be effected without the aid of the Dutch and Engliſh fleets. King William did all in his power to haſten the preparations: and though his body was weak, and almoſt lifeleſs, yet his underſtanding, being ſtill lively and active, put every thing in motion; but all he did was not ſo much to ſerve the houſe of Auſtria, as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the allied army in the beginning of the year 1702. Death, however, prevented him in this deſign: he received a fall from his horſe, which proved mortal to his decayed body; for it brought on a ſlight fever, which carried him

off. He died without giving the leaſt anſwer to what the Engliſh prieſts, who were at his bed-ſide, ſaid to him on the ſubject of religion; and he ſhewed no other uneaſineſs but that which aroſe from the affairs of Europe.

He left the reputation of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and a formidable general, though he had loſt many battles. His conduct was always diſcreet and moderate; and his ſpirits never appeared elevated but on a day of battle. He never aimed at abſolute power in England; and to this it was owing that he reigned ſo peaceably. He was called ſtateholder of the Engliſh, and king of the Dutch. He was acquainted with moſt of the European languages, yet could not ſpeak any one with elegance; for he was a man of more judgment and reflection than imagination. He affected to ſhun all praiſe and flattery; becauſe, perhaps, Lewis appeared too fond of them. His glory was of a quite different kind from that of the French monarch. Thoſe who are moſt pleaſed with the character of a prince who acquired a kingdom without a natural right; who maintained it without being beloved; who governed deſpotically, and yet did not enſlave Holland; who was the ſoul and the chief of half of Europe; who had the genius of a general, and the valour of a common ſoldier; who never perſecuted any one for religion; who deſpiſed all human ſuperſtition; and whoſe manners were ſimple and modeſt; ſuch, no doubt, will give the name of Great to William rather than Lewis. Thoſe, on the contrary, who are more charmed with the pleaſures of a ſplendid court with magnificence; with the protection given to

arts; with zeal for the public good; with a paſſion for glory, and a talent for reigning; who are more ſtruck with the haughtineſs with which the French miniſters and generals, in obedience to their ſovereign's will, added provinces to France; who are more affected with ſeeing a ſingle kingdom withſtand ſo many powers, in ſhort, who admire more a monarch of France, who gives the kingdom of Spain to his grandſon, than a ſon-in-law who dethrones his father; ſuch will certainly give the preference to Lewis XIV.

William was ſucceeded by the princeſs Anne, daughter of King James II. by a daughter of chancellor Hyde, one of the greateſt men in England. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who was only her greateſt ſubject. As ſoon as ſhe aſcended the throne, ſhe entered into all the meaſures of king William, though ſhe had had an open rupture with him when living. Theſe meaſures were certainly the moſt agreeable to her people; and though a ſovereign in any other kingdom may make his people blindly conform to his inclinations, yet, in England, a prince muſt comply with theirs.

The diſpoſitions made by England and Holland, in order, if poſſible, to put the archduke Charles the emperor's ſon on the throne of Spain, or at leaſt to oppoſe the Bourbons, deſerve, perhaps, the attention of all ages. Holland was to maintain one hundred and two thouſand troops, to be employed in the field, or to be kept in gariſons. This was more than the vaſt monarchy of Spain could furniſh at this juncture. A province of merchants, which had been almoſt totally ſubdued in two months, about

thirty years before, could now do more than the ſovereigns of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England undertook to furniſh forty thouſand. In alliances it almoſt always happens, that the parties furniſh at length leſs than they promiſed; England, on the contrary, in the ſecond year of the war, ſent fifty inſtead of forty thouſand men; and towards the end of the war, ſhe maintained, of her own troops, and thoſe of her allies, upon the frontiers of France, in Spain, in Italy, in Ireland, in America, and in her fleets, two hundred and twenty thouſand ſoldiers and ſailors: an expence which will appear incredible to one who conſiders that England, properly ſpeaking, is but equal to a third of France, and has not half ſo much money in ſpecie: but it will not ſurpaſs the belief of thoſe who know what commerce and credit can do. The Engliſh bore always the greateſt burden in this alliance. The Dutch lightened theirs by degrees: for after all, the republic of the ſtates general are only an illuſtrious company of merchants; but England is a rich and fertile kingdom, abounding in ſtatesmen, merchants and warriors.

The emperor was to furniſh ninety thouſand men, excluſive of the aſſiſtance of the Empire, and thoſe allies whom he expected to detach from the Bourbon family. Meanwhile the grandſon of France reigned peaceably at Madrid; and in the beginning of the century Lewis was at the height of his power and glory. But thoſe, who could penetrate into the ſecrets of the courts of Europe, eſpecially that of France, began to apprehend a change. Spain, which had been greatly weakened under the late kings of the blood of Charles V. became more ſo in the b

ginning of the reign of a ſon of the Bourbon family. The houſe of Auſtria had partiſans in ſeveral provinces of this monarchy. Catalonia ſeemed ready to ſhake off the new yoke, and to declare for the archduke Charles. It was impoſſible to conceive, that Portugal would not, ſooner or later, eſpouſe the cauſe of the Auſtrian family. It appeared her intereſt to blow up, amongſt the Spaniards, who were her natural enemies, a civil war, by which Liſbon muſt be a conſiderable gainer. The duke of Savoy, though but juſt become father-in-law to the king of Spain, and allied to the Bourbon family both by blood and treaties, yet appeared already diſſatisfied with his ſons-in-law. He had at firſt a monthly penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, which was augmented to two hundred thouſand livres; but this did not appear to him ſufficient to keep him in the Bourbon intereſt. He wanted at leaſt to have Montferrat, and part of Milan, given up to him. The haughty treatment he experienced from the French generals, and the miniſtry of Verſailles, gave him reaſon to ſuſpect, that he would ſoon be diſregarded by his ſons-in-law, who ſurrounded his dominions on all ſides. He had already ſuddenly quitted the Empire for France; and it was now highly probable, that, being alſo neglected by France, he would deſert her the firſt opportunity.

In the court and kingdom of Lewis XIV. people of penetration already foreſaw a revolution, which thoſe of leſs diſcernment cannot perceive till the event itſelf happens. The king, now above ſixty years of age, and being more retired, could not

now ſo well diſtinguiſh the characters of men. He ſaw things at too great a diſtance, with eyes leſs piercing than before, and bewitched by a long courſe of proſperity. Madam de Maintenon, with all the great qualities ſhe poſſeſſed, had neither that vigour, that reſolution, nor that greatneſs of ſoul, requiſite to ſupport the glory of a ſtate. It was by her intereſt chiefly, that her favourite Chamillard was made ſuperintendant of the finances, in 1698. and ſecretary at war, in 1701. He was more of the honeſt man than the miniſter; the modeſty of his conduct, when he was governor of St. Cyr, had pleaſed the king: however, notwithſtanding his outward modeſty and diffidence, he was ſo unhappy as to think his ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport a weight, which Colbert and Louvois both together had born with difficulty. The king, relying upon his own experience, believed he ſhould be able himſelf to direct his miniſters ſucceſsfully. He had ſaid to king James, upon the death of Louvois; "I have loſt a "good miniſter; but this ſhall not affect either "your affairs or mine." When he choſe Barbeſieux to ſucceed Louvois as ſecretary at war, "I "made your father a miniſter, ſaid he; and I will "make you one too." He ſaid much the ſame to Chamillard. A king, indeed, who had laboured ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully, ſeemed to have a right to ſpeak in this manner.

In regard to the generals he employed, they were frequently too much confined by the ſtrictneſs of their orders; as were likewiſe his embaſſadors, who were not to deviate in the leaſt from their inſtructions. He uſed to ſettle the operations of the campaign with Chamillard in madam

Maintenon's apartment; and if a commander intended any great enterprize, he muſt frequently ſend a courier for permiſſion; and, before his return, the opportunity was loſt, or the general defeated.

Honours and military rewards were laviſhed in the moſt inconſiderate manner, under the miniſtry of Chamillard. Permiſſion was given to too many young men to purchaſe regiments, and even to ſome who had ſcarcely paſt their child-hood; whilſt, among the enemy, a regiment was the reward of twenty years ſervice. This difference was afterwards very ſenſibly felt, on ſeveral occaſions, where an experienced colonel might have prevented a defeat. In the year 1693. the king firſt created knights of St. Lewis; an order which he inſtituted on purpoſe to raiſe an emulation in his officers, and as an honourable reward for military bravery; but the croſſes of this order were ſold as ſoon as Chamillard began his miniſtry: and they might be bought at the war-office for fifty crowns. Military diſcipline, which is the very ſoul of an army, and which had been ſo ſtrictly preſerved by Louvois, was now ſhamefully neglected. The proper number of ſoldiers was not kept up in the companies, nor that of the officers in the regiments. The eaſineſs of having an underſtanding with the commiſſaries, and the remiſſneſs of the miniſter, produced this diſorder. The inconveniencies of which, had other circumſtances concurred, muſt have occaſioned the loſs of battles: for, in order to have a front of as great extent as that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppoſe thin battalions to thoſe that were numerous. The ma-

gazines were now neither ſufficiently ſupplied, nor kept in readineſs; and the arms were not properly tempered. Thoſe perſons, therefore, who ſaw theſe defects in the government, and who knew what generals France would have to encounter, were afraid for her, even amidſt thoſe firſt advantages, which ſeemed to promiſe her greater ſucceſs than ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

The war in 1701. the conduct of prince Eugene, of marſhal de Villeroi, the duke de Vendome, the duke of Marlborough, and marſhal de Villars, to the year 1703.

THE firſt general who gave a check to the ſuperiority of France, was a Frenchman; for ſo we muſt reckon prince Eugene, although a grandſon of Charles-Emmanuel duke of Savoy. His father the count de Soiſſons, who ſettled in France, was a lieutenant-general, and governor of Champagne: he married Olimpia-Mancini, one of cardinal Mazarin's nieces. From this marriage, in other reſpects unfortunate, was born at Paris (*a*) this prince, ſo fatal afterwards to Lewis XIV. and ſo little known to him in his youth. He was at firſt ſtiled in France the chevalier de Carignan. He ſollicited the king for a ſingle troop of horſe; but he met with a refuſal, becauſe he happened to be ſo nearly related to the princes of Conti, then in diſgrace at court. He then entered into holy orders, and aſſumed the title of abbot of Savoy: he petitioned for an abbey, and

(*a*) October 1663.

this was alſo denied him. In ſhort, finding that Lewis XIV. would neither promote him in the church nor in the army, he went to ſerve the emperor againſt the Turks in Hungary, in the year 1684. in company with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign in that ſervice. The king ſent orders to the princes of Conti, and thoſe who accompanied them in this expedition, that they ſhould return. The abbot of Savoy was the only perſon who did not obey: he continued his route, declaring that he renounced France for ever. When the king was informed of this, he ſaid to his courtiers, ſmiling, "Do not you think I ſuffer a "great loſs?" All the courtiers, indeed, looked upon him as one of an unſettled mind, and who would never be capable of any great undertaking. But they framed their judgment on ſome ſallies of youth, which ought never to fix our opinions of men. This prince, though held in ſuch contempt at the French court, was born with the qualities requiſite to make a great warrior, and an able ſtateſman. His underſtanding was clear and elevated, and his reſolution ſuch as was neceſſary in the field, and the cabinet. He has committed miſtakes, as all generals have done; but his overſights were effaced by the number of his great actions. He humbled the grandeur of Lewis XIV. and governed the Empire: and, in the whole courſe of his victories, and adminiſtration, he ſhewed an equal contempt of pride and riches. He even cultivated letters, and encouraged them as much as he could, at the court of Vienna. He was now in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age; having derived great experience from his victories over the Turks, and the miſtakes of the

Imperialiſts in the late wars, wherein he had ſerved againſt France. He made a deſcent upon Italy by the biſhopric of Trent, and the territories of Venice, at the head of thirty thouſand men; having a full power to purſue what meaſures he thought proper. The French court, at firſt, ordered marſhal Catinat not to oppoſe the paſſage of prince Eugene; either not chooſing to offer the firſt act of hoſtility, which was certainly bad policy, when they had an army in readineſs; or to avoid giving offence to the Venetians, who were, however, not ſo much to be feared as the German army. This falſe ſtep of the court made Catinat run into many others; for a general ſeldom ſucceeds, when obliged to follow a plan not his own. Beſides, it muſt be allowed extremely difficult, in ſuch a country, divided by ſo many rivers, and branches of rivers, to hinder the paſſage of a ſkilful enemy, ſuch as prince Eugene was; who, to a profound depth of deſign, joined likewiſe a ſurpriſing quickneſs and activity in execution. The nature of the ground too, adjacent to the banks of the Adige, was ſuch, that the imperialiſts were confined, whilſt the French were ſcattered, and more extended. Catinat was for paſſing over to the enemy; but his lieutenant-generals ſtarted difficulties, and formed cabals againſt him: he had not reſolution enough to force them to a compliance with his orders; and this omiſſion, ariſing from the moderation of his temper, proved a fatal miſconduct. Eugene firſt attacked the poſt of Carpi, near the canal Blanc, defended by St. Fremont; who, not conforming exactly to the orders of his general, was defeated. After this ſucceſs, the Germans became maſters of all the country betwixt the Adige and

Adda; they even penetrated into the territory of Breſciano, and Catinat retired behind the Oglio. Moſt of the beſt officers approved of this retreat as extremely prudent; nay, we muſt likewiſe add, that the want of ammunition, which the government had promiſed but neglected to ſend, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. The courtiers, eſpecially thoſe who hoped to ſupplant Catinat in his command, exclaimed againſt his conduct, as a reproach to the French name. The marſhal de Villeroi undertook to retrieve the honour of the nation. The confidence with which he ſpoke, and the affection the king had for him, accordingly procured this general the command in Italy; and the marſhal de Catinat, notwithſtanding his victories at Staffarda and Marſeilles, was obliged to ſerve under him.

The marſhal duke de Villeroi was ſon to the king's preceptor; and, having been brought up with him, was always highly in his favour. He had been a companion to him in all his campaigns, as well as pleaſures. He was a man of an agreeable and charming perſon, couragious, honourable, friendly, ſociable, and magnificent in every thing: but his enemies ſaid, that at the head of an army, he was more taken up with the honour and pleaſure of commanding, than buſied in the deſigns of a great general. They likewiſe reproached him with ſuch an obſtinate attachment to his own opinions, that he never followed the advice of any other perſon.

He came into Italy to give orders to marſhal de Catinat, and to add to the diſguſt of the duke of Savoy. His behaviour ſhewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of a powerful army greatly above a prince. He called him only

Savoy; treating him as a general in the pay of France, and not as a ſovereign who was lord of the barriers which nature had fixed betwixt France and Italy. The friendſhip of this prince was certainly not ſo regarded, as ſeemed neceſſary. The court imagined, that fear alone would be a ſufficient tie to keep him in her intereſt; and that a French army, by which about ſix or ſeven thouſand Piemonteſe troops were continually ſurrounded, would warrant his fidelity. Marſhal Villeroi behaved to him as his ſuperior in command, and his equal in other reſpects. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of generaliſſimo, and the marſhal had the ſole authority. His firſt order was, that they ſhould attack prince Eugene, poſted at Chiari near Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that ſuch a ſtep would be contrary to all the rules of war, for very ſtrong reaſons: the poſt was in itſelf of no conſequence, and the intrenchments inacceſſible; ſo that they could gain nothing by carrying it, and, if they failed, would loſe the reputation of the campaign. Villeroi peremptorily told the duke of Savoy, he muſt march; and he ſent an aid-de-camp, in his name, to order marſhal Catinat on the attack. Catinat made him repeat the order thrice; and then turning to the officers under his command, "Come then, gentlemen," ſaid he, "we muſt "obey." They accordingly marched up to the intrenchments (*b*). The duke of Savoy behaved, at the head of his troops, not like a man diſſatisfied with France; Catinat fought as if he ſought for death: he was wounded, and, in this condition, when he ſaw the king's troops repulſed, and Ville-

(*b*) September 11. 1701.

roi not giving orders, he made a retreat. After this he left the army, and came to Verſailles, to give an account of his conduct to the king, without complaining of any perſon.

Prince Eugene always kept the ſuperiority over marſhal Villeroi. At laſt, in the midſt of winter, in the year 1702. one night, when the marſhal was aſleep, in the utmoſt ſecurity, in Cremona, a town of great ſtrength, and defended by a numerous gariſon, he was ſuddenly awaked by the noiſe of ſeveral vollies of muſquet-ſhot: he roſe in the utmoſt hurry, and mounted his horſe. The firſt thing that preſents itſelf to him, is a ſquadron of the enemy: he is inſtantly taken priſoner, and conducted out of the town not knowing what paſſed there, nor being able to imagine the cauſe of this ſurpriſing event. Prince Eugene was already in Cremona. A prieſt, named Bozzoli, provoſt of St. Maria Neuf, had let in the Germans by an aqueduct: four hundred ſoldiers, having by this means been conveyed into the prieſt's houſe, had killed the guards at the two gates; and theſe being opened, prince Eugene entered with four thouſand men. All this had been done, before the governor, who was a Spaniard, could have the leaſt ſuſpicion, and before Villeroi awaked. The preparations for this enterprize had been carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy, order, diligence, and precaution. The Spaniſh governor firſt appeared in the ſtreets, with ſome ſoldiers; but was killed by a muſquet-ſhot; and all the general officers ſhared the ſame fate, or were taken priſoners, except count de Revel, the lieutenant-general, and the marquis de Pralin. Chance, however, defeated all the prudence of prince Eugene.

The chevalier d'Entragues was that ſame day to have a review, in the town, of a regiment of marines, of which he was colonel: they had accordingly aſſembled by four of the clock in the morning, at one end of the town, preciſely at the time when prince Eugene entered at the other. D'Entragues hurried into the ſtreets with his men, and furiouſly attacked the Germans. By this means, the reſt of the gariſon had ſome time to come together. The officers and ſoldiers thronged into the ſtreets, and public places, in the utmoſt confuſion; ſome half-armed, and others half naked, without a commander, and without order. They fought in the greateſt diſtraction, running from ſtreet to ſtreet and from one ſquare to another. Two Iriſh regiments, part of the gariſon, at laſt put a ſtop to the fury of the Imperialiſts. Never was any town ſurpriſed with greater art and ſtratagem, nor any defended with ſo much valour. The gariſon conſiſted of five thouſand men: prince Eugene had yet brought into the town but four thouſand; a conſiderable detachment of his army was to have come by a bridge over the Po. His meaſures had been concerted with great prudence; but another miſchance intirely defeated them. This bridge, guarded only by about an hundred French ſoldiers, was to have been firſt ſeized by the German cuiraſſiers, who, as ſoon as prince Eugene entered the town, were accordingly ordered to go to make themſelves maſters of it. For this purpoſe, as they had come in at the ſouth-gate, neareſt the aqueduct, they muſt now go out by the north-ſide, through the Po-gate, to the field of Cremona, and run ſtraightway to the bridge. They accordingly went thither; but the guide, who conducted them, happening to be kill-

ed by a muſquet-ſhot from a window, the cuiraſſiers miſtook one ſtreet for another; and thus the way was made longer. In this ſhort interval, the Iriſh, having ruſhed to the Po-gate, furiouſly attacked and repulſed the cuiraſſiers. The marquis de Pralin ſeized this opportunity, and ordered the bridge to be cut down. Thus the reinforcement, which the enemy expected, could not advance, and the town was ſaved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and having been always maſter of the gate he had entered, at laſt retreated; carrying with him marſhal Villeroi, and ſeveral general officers, priſoners; but failed in carrying Cremona, which his own activity and prudence, joined to the negligence of the governor, had put into his hands, and which fortune, and the bravery of the French and Iriſh, had taken from him.

Marſhal Villeroi, who was extremely unfortunate on this occaſion, was exclaimed againſt by the courtiers at Verſailles with great bitterneſs; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering his character, his high ſtation, and the ſhare he had always had of the royal favour. The king, who blamed, but did not reproach him, was highly provoked that every one ſo much condemned his choice; and on this occaſion, this ſaying eſcaped him, "They are thus outrageous againſt him, becauſe "he is my favourite;" an expreſſion he never uſed towards any perſon, but this once, during his whole life. The duke de Vendome was now named to the command in Italy.

The duke de Vendome, grandſon of Henry IV,

was, like him, bold and intrepid, affable in his temper, benevolent in his diſpoſition, without pride, hatred, envy, or revenge. His behaviour was haughty only to princes, but eaſy and condeſcending to every body elſe. He was the only general, under whom the ſoldiers did not go to battle from a notion of duty, or prompted by that animal inſtinct, and mechanical enthuſiaſm, which leads them on to obey the commands of their officers: they fought for the duke of Vendome, and would have ſacrificed their lives to retrieve any falſe ſtep, which he was ſometimes led into by the precipitancy of his temper. He was thought not to concert his deſigns with ſo much depth as prince Eugene; nor did he ſo well underſtand the art of providing ſubſiſtence for armies. He neglected all oeconomy, and allowed the military diſcipline to relax. His table and bed engroſſed too much of his time; which was likewiſe the caſe of his brother. His effeminacy often brought him into danger of being ſurpriſed; but, on the day of action, he retrieved all by a preſence of mind, and quickneſs of parts, which ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the danger. He always diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in action; and this he always ſought for; being, as was ſaid, not ſo well qualified as prince Eugene for a defenſive war, but, in every reſpect, as well formed for an offenſive one.

His diſorder and negligence was not confined to the army; for it prevailed to a ſurpriſing exceſs in his houſe; nay, even in his perſon; and, from an averſion to pride and oſtentation, he ran into ſuch a cynical ſlovenlineſs as can hardly be paralleled. His diſintereſtedneſs, one of the moſt noble virtues, became in him a fault; for he kept no account of his

affairs; and, by this want of order, loſt more than he had ever beſtowed on acts of liberality: nay, by this means, he was often even pinched for common neceſſaries. His brother, the grand prior, who ſerved under him in Italy, had all the ſame imperfections even to a greater exceſs, and for which he made amends by the ſame valour. It was certainly aſtoniſhing to ſee two generals often abed at four of the clock in the afternoon; and two princes grandſons of Henry IV. ſunk into ſuch a neglect of their perſons, as even the meaneſt people would have been aſhamed of.

But what is more ſurpriſing ſtill, is that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendome carried on a war againſt Eugene, ſo full of ſtratagems, ſurprizes, marches, paſſages of rivers, dangerous, though unſerviceable ſkirmiſhes, and bloody engagements, where both ſides claimed the victory: ſuch was that of Luzara (*c*); upon the account of which *Te Deum* was ſung at Vienna as well as Paris. Vendome generally came off victorious when he had not to do with Eugene in perſon; but when Eugene himſelf commanded, then France had little reaſon to boaſt.

Amidſt theſe battles, and ſieges of ſo many caſtles, and little towns (*d*), the court of Verſailles received ſecret intelligence, that the duke of Savoy, grandſon to a ſiſter of Lewis XIII. and father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. had quitted the Bourbon intereſt, and was gone over to that of the emperor. They were aſtoniſhed, and enraged, at his thus forſaking at once his two ſons-in-law, and, as they imagined, his own intereſt. But the emperor

(*c*) Auguſt 15. 1702. (*d*) January 1703.

promiſed all his ſons-in-law had refuſed him; Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, the country betwixt the Po and Tenaro, and more money alſo than France had allowed him. This money, however, was to be furniſhed by the Engliſh; for the emperor could not pay his own army but with great difficulty. England, the richeſt of the allies, contributed more than all of them to the public cauſe. Whether the duke of Savoy, by this ſtep, violated the laws of nations, and thoſe of nature, is a queſtion in morality, which has but little effect on the conduct of princes. The event ſhewed, in the end, that, in this treaty, he had at leaſt not failed in the laws of policy: but he failed in another eſſential point, in leaving his troops to the mercy of the French, while he was in treaty with the emperor. The duke de Vendome ordered them to be diſarmed (*e*): they were not, indeed, above five thouſand men; but this was no inconſiderable number for the duke of Savoy.

Scarce had the houſe of Bourbon loſt this ally, when ſhe was informed, that the king of Portugal had likewiſe declared againſt her. Don Pedro, the Portugueſe monarch, acknowleged the archduke Charles king of Spain. The Imperial council in the name of the archduke, who had not one town in Spain, divided this monarchy in favour of Pedro II. giving up to him, by one of thoſe treaties which were never put into execution, Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara, Badajox, part of Eſtramadura, and all that country ſituated on the weſt of the Silver river in America: in a word, Charles gave away what he had not, in order that he might acquire what he could in Spain.

(*e*) Auguſt 19. 1703.

The king of Portugal, prince Darmſtadt miniſter to the archduke, and the great admiral of Caſtille, his partiſan, even ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the emperor of Morocco. They not only made treaties with theſe barbarians for horſes and corn, but likewiſe petitioned for troops. Muley Iſmael, emperor of Morocco, the moſt warlike and politic potentate then amongſt the Mahometan nations, would not conſent to ſend troops, but upon terms that would have been dangerous to Chriſtendom, and ſhameful to the king of Portugal. He demanded this monarch's ſon as an hoſtage, and certain towns alſo. That treaty, therefore, did not take effect; and the Chriſtians tore one another to pieces with their own hands, without the help of thoſe barbarians. Such ſuccours from Africa would have availed but little to the houſe of Auſtria, in compariſon of that ſhe received from England and Holland.

Churchill, earl, and afterwards duke, of Marlborough, who was declared general of the Dutch and Engliſh forces in 1702. proved the moſt fatal man to the grandeur of France, that had appeared for many ages. He was not as thoſe generals, who receive from the miniſtry a plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having executed their orders at the head of an army, return to ſolicit the honour of being continued in their command. He, at that time, governed the queen of England, by his being ſo neceſſary a perſon, and by the influence which his wife had over her majeſty. He intirely led the parliament by his own power and intereſt, joined to that of Godolphin, the lord treaſurer, whoſe ſon was married to his daughter. Thus,

maſter of the court, the parliament, and the exchequer, more a king than William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater captain, he did more than the allies could expect. He had, to a degree above all the generals of his time, that calm courage in the midſt of tumult, that ſerenity of ſoul in danger, which the Engliſh call *a cool head*. And it was perhaps this quality, the greateſt gift of nature for command, which formerly gave the Engliſh ſo many advantages over the French in the plains of Poitiers, Creſſy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was an indefatigable warrior during the campaign, in winter acted the part of an able negotiator. He went to the Hague, and all the courts in Germany. He perſuaded the Dutch to exert their utmoſt to humble France. He rouſed the reſentment of the elector Palatine. He went likewiſe to flatter the haughty elector of Brandenbourg, when this prince wanted to be king: he ſerved him at table, in order to procure of him a ſupply of ſeven or eight thouſand men. Prince Eugene, on his part, no ſooner finiſhed one campaign than he went directly for Vienna, to make preparations for another: and it cannot but appear evident, how much better an army muſt ſubſiſt, when the general himſelf acts as the miniſter. Theſe two great men, who ſometimes jointly commanded, and ſometimes ſeparately, lived always in a good underſtanding: they had frequent conferences at the Hague with the grand penſionary Heinſius, the miniſter who governed Holland in conjunction with ſecretary Fagel, with as much ſagacity as the Barnevelts and de Witts, and with

better fortune. Theſe three ſtateſmen ſo concerted meaſures, that they put the ſprings of half Europe in motion, againſt the houſe of Bourbon. The French miniſtry was then too weak to reſiſt long ſuch united force. They always kept the plan of the operations of the campaign a profound ſecret. They themſelves concerted their deſigns, and never communicated them even to thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary, till on the point of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being no politician, no warrior, nor even well verſed in the public revenues, was greatly unequal to the part of a prime miniſter. His own incapacity to concert meaſures, made him therefore have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of many inferior perſons; ſo that, by this means, his ſecrets often tranſpired even before he had fully determined what particular courſe to take.

As ſoon as Marlborough commanded the allied army in Flanders, he made it appear, that he had learned the art of war from Turenne, under whom he had ſerved his firſt campaign as a volunteer. He went, in the French army, by no other name but that of the *handſome Engliſhman*: but the viſcount de Turenne had judged, that the *handſome Engliſhman* would one day come forth a very great man. He began his command with advancing from obſcurity ſubaltern officers, in whom he diſcerned merit, without confining himſelf to the order of the military roll, which we call in France *l'ordre du tableau*. He knew, that when ſteps of advancement are only the conſequence of ſeniority, emulation is extinguiſhed; and that the oldeſt is far from being always the beſt officer. He formed men at once. When he came into the field, he gained

ground conſiderably on the French, even without fighting. The firſt month of the campaign, count d'Atlone, the Dutch general, diſputed the command; but, on the ſecond (*f*), was obliged to yield to him in every reſpect. The French monarch had ſent againſt him his grandſon the duke of Burgundy, a wiſe and juſt prince, born to make men happy. The marſhal de Bouflers, a brave and indefatigable general, commanded under this young prince. But the duke, after having in vain attempted to take ſeveral places, and having been forced to retreat by the excellent marches of the Engliſh, returned to Verſailles in the middle of the campaign. Bouflers now remained alone a ſpectator of the ſucceſs of Marlborough, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, always advancing, and never for a moment quitting his ſuperiority.

Marlborough, at his return to London after this campaign, received all the honours that could be conferred either by a monarchy or republic; he was created a duke by the queen, and, which was ſtill more grateful, received the thanks of both houſes of parliament, who ſent a deputation of their number to wait upon him at his houſe for that purpoſe.

Nevertheleſs there ſtill appeared a man who ſeemed deſigned to be a bulwark to the glory of France. This was marſhal duke de Villars, then only a lieutenant-general, but afterwards generaliſſimo of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia, when in the eighty-ſecond year of his age: he was reſolute and bold, and raiſed himſelf by an obſtinacy which he always ſhewed in acting beyond his commiſſion.

(*f*) 1702.

He ſometimes diſpleaſed Lewis, and, which was more dangerous, Louvois; for he ſpoke to them with the ſame boldneſs as he ſerved. They reproached him, that he had not a modeſty becoming his valour. But, however, perceiving he had a genius for war, and was formed for conducting a French army, after having neglected him a conſiderable number of years, they now promoted him in a ſhort time.

There was hardly any man whoſe fortune occaſioned more jealouſy, and yet no one ever gave leſs occaſion for it. He had, indeed, been created a marſhal of France, a duke and peer of the realm, and governor of Provence: but then he had ſaved the ſtate; while others, who had almoſt ruined it, or thoſe who had been only mere courtiers, had received very near the ſame recompences. They even reproached him with his riches, which he had acquired by contributions levied in the enemy's country, the lawful, though inadequate reward of his valour and good conduct; whilſt thoſe, who had amaſſed fortunes ten times more conſiderable by the moſt ſcandalous practices, poſſeſſed them with univerſal approbation. He had not begun to enjoy his reputation before his eightieth year; and he was forced to outlive the whole court, to taſte the full ſweets of his glory.

It may not be unneceſſary to give the reaſon of this injuſtice in the public. It was becauſe the marſhal de Villars had no art: he knew not how to gain friends with his good ſenſe and honeſty; nor to acquire eſteem by ſpeaking of himſelf ſo advantageouſly as he deſerved to be ſpoken of by others.

One day, when he went to pay his reſpects to the

king, before he ſet out for his command, he told him, before all the court: "Sir, I am going to fight "your majeſty's enemies; and I leave you ſurround-"ed with mine." He ſaid to the courtiers, who, in the regency of the duke of Orleans, had amaſſed riches by that confuſion which was called the ſyſtem: "As for me, I have never gained any thing but from "our enemies." Theſe expreſſions, wherein he ſhewed the ſame courage as in his actions, caſt too great a contempt on others, who were already ſufficiently irritated by his good fortune.

At the beginning of this war, he was one of thoſe lieutenant-generals who commanded the detachments in Alſace. The prince of Baden was at the head of the Imperialiſts, and had taken Landau, after a defence of four months by Melac. This prince continued his progreſs, having the advantage in numbers, in the ground, and in a ſucceſsful commencement of the campaign. His army was among thoſe mountains of Briſgau adjoining to the Black Foreſt, which immenſe foreſt ſeparated the Bavarian from the French troops. Catinat commanded then in Straſbourg; but he was too cautious to attack the prince of Baden at ſuch great diſadvantage: for, had he proved unſucceſsful, the French army would have been irrecoverably loſt, and Alſace laid open. Villars, who had reſolved to be a marſhal of France, or to die in the attempt, ventured what Catinat had not dared to attempt. Having obtained permiſſion from court, he marched againſt the Imperialiſts, with an army inferior to theirs, and engaged them near Friedlingen, which gave name to the battle.

The cavalry engaged in the plain; and the French infantry, after having clambered up to the ſummit

of the mountains, attacked that of the Germans, intrenched in the woods.

I have heard the marſhal de Villars ſay more than once, that, after the battle was gained, as he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice called out, "We are undone." Upon hearing this, all his regiments fled. He ran after them, calling out, "Come back, my friends; the victory is "ours: "Long live the king." The ſoldiers anſwered, "Long live the king," trembling; and ſtill continued to fly. The greateſt difficulty which the general had, was to rally the conquerors. Had only two of the enemy's regiments appeared during this panic, the French would have been defeated: ſo often does mere chance decide the fate of battles.

The prince of Baden loſt three thouſand men, with all his artillery; and, after being driven from the field, was purſued ſix miles acroſs the woods and defiles. As a farther proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlingen capitulated; yet, notwithſtanding all this, he ſent word to Vienna, that he had gained a victory; and a *Te Deum* was ſung, more ſhameful to him than the defeat he had ſuffered.

The French ſoldiers, as ſoon as they had recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars a marſhal of France in the field of battle; and, about a fortnight after, the king confirmed what had been given him by the voice of the ſoldiers.

Marſhal Villars, with his victorious troops, at laſt joined the elector of Bavaria (*g*); whom he found victorious on his ſide, having gained ground of the enemy, and being maſter of the Imperial city of

(*g*) April 1703.

Ratiſbon, where the diet of the Empire had been laying ſchemes for his deſtruction.

Villars was rather formed to ſerve his country by following his genius, than by acting in concert with a prince. He led, or rather forced, the elector on the other ſide of the Danube: but, after they had paſſed the river, the elector repented it; perceiving, that the leaſt misfortune would expoſe his dominions to the emperor's mercy. The count de Styrum, at the head of twenty thouſand men, was then going to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert. "We muſt prevent this," ſaid Villars to the prince; "we muſt march inſtantly, and attack Styrum." The elector heſitated, and anſwered, that he would confer with his generals and miniſters. "I am your miniſter and general," replied Villars: "do you want any other counſel than "mine, when the queſtion is about giving battle?" The prince, being full of apprehenſions for his dominions, was ſtill averſe to the French general's propoſal, and not a little diſpleaſed with him. "Well then," ſaid Villars, "if your electoral "highneſs will not ſeize this opportunity with your "Bavarians, I will engage with the French;" and accordingly he immediately gave orders for the attack. The elector, though he was moved with indignation*, and looked upon Villars as extremely raſh, yet found himſelf under a kind of neceſſity to

* All theſe particulars are in the manuſcript copy of Memoirs, written by marſhal Villars, which I have read. The firſt printed volume of theſe Memoirs is certainly his own; but the two others are by ſome other hand; and are not like the firſt.

fight againſt his inclination. They engaged in the plains of Hochſtet, near Donawert (*h*).

After the firſt charge, there was a remarkable inſtance of the power of fortune in battles. The French army, and that of the enemy, were both ſeized with a panic; both at once betook themſelves to flight, and marſhal Villars was left almoſt alone for ſome minutes in the field of battle: he, nevertheleſs, rallied his troops, led them again to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thouſand of the Imperialiſts were killed, four thouſand were taken priſoners, and they loſt all their artillery and baggage. The elector got poſſeſſion of Auſbourg; and the road of Vienna being now laid open, it was debated in the emperor's council, whether he ſhould quit his capital.

The emperor's conſternation was excuſable; for he was then every-where worſted. The duke of Burgundy (*i*), with the marſhals Tallard and Vauban under him, had made himſelf maſter of old Briſac. Tallard had not only retaken Landau, but had likewiſe defeated the prince of Heſſe, (*k*) afterwards king of Sweden, near Spires, when he came to relieve that city. If we may believe the marquis de Feuquieres, that officer and judge ſo well ſkilled in the military art, but ſo ſevere in his opinions, marſhal Tallard gained this battle by a miſtake and overſight. In his letter from the field of battle to his majeſty, he had theſe words: "Sir, your army "has taken more ſtandards and colours than it has "loſt common ſoldiers."

France having thus been ſucceſsful in Germany,

(*h*) Sept. 20. 1703. (*i*) Sept. 6. (*k*) Nov. 14. 1703.

it might be ſuppoſed Villars would puſh the ſucceſs much farther, conſidering the impetuoſity of his temper, ſo formed to diſconcert the ſlowneſs of the Germans: but that particular quality, which made him ſo formidable a general, rendered him intolerable to the elector of Bavaria. The king deſired his generals ſhould behave haughtily to none but an enemy; and the elector of Bavaria was ſo unfortunate as to demand another marſhal of France.

Thus, notwithſtanding Villars was ſo neceſſary a man in Germany; where he had gained two battles, and in all probability, would have overpowered the emperor; yet he was ſent into the Cevennes, to quell an inſurrection amongſt the country-people. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe fanatics in the chapter upon religion. But Lewis XIV. had other enemies more terrible, more ſucceſsful, and more irreconcileable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The defeat at Blenheim, or Hochſtet; and its conſequences.

THE duke of Marlborough returned to the Netherlands in the beginning of the year 1703. where his conduct and ſucceſs were equally great. He had taken Bonne, the reſidence of the elector of Cologne; thence he proceeded to Huy, which he took, as alſo Limbourg; and made himſelf maſter of all the circle of the lower Rhine. The

marſhal de Villeroi, as ſoon as he was ſet at liberty, commanded in Flanders; but he was not more fortunate againſt Marlborough, than he had been againſt prince Eugene. The marſhal de Bouflers had, indeed, got a ſmall advantage, with a detachment of the army, at the battle of Eckern, againſt Obdam the Dutch general; but a victory attended with no advantage afterwards is of no value.

Mean while, if the Engliſh general had not marched to the aſſiſtance of the emperor, it is probable the houſe of Auſtria would have been intirely ruined. The elector of Bavaria was maſter of Paſſau: thirty thouſand French under marſhal de Marſin, who had ſucceeded Villars, covered the country on the other ſide of the Danube; and parties made frequent incurſions into Auſtria. Vienna was, on one ſide, threatened by the French and Bavarians, and, on the other, by prince Ragotſki, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and ſupported by the treaſure of France, as well as Turkey. About this time, prince Eugene now haſtened out of Italy to command the army in Germany; and he met the duke of Marlborough at Heilbron. The Engliſh general, being left intirely to his own judgment by his queen, as well as the Dutch, marched with ſuccour into the heart of the Empire. He, at firſt, carried with him ten thouſand Engliſh infantry, and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe. He haſtened his march, and arrived upon the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, oppoſite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, wherein about eight thouſand French, and as many Bavarians, intrenched, guarded the country they had conquered. After a conteſt of

two hours, Marlborough forced his way, at the head of three Engliſh battalions, and defeated the French and Bavarians. It is ſaid, that he killed ſix thouſand of the enemy, and loſt near that number himſelf (*a*): but the number of the dead is but of little conſequence to a general, provided he gains his point. Marlborough took Donawert, paſſed the Danube, and laid all Bavaria under contribution.

Marſhal de Villeroi, who attempted to follow the Engliſh general when he began his march, preſently loſt ſight of him; and did not learn where he was, till he heard of the victory at Donawert. Marſhal Tallard, at the head of thirty thouſand men, marched another way to oppoſe Marlborough, and joined the elector.

About the ſame time, prince Eugene arrived, and joined Marlborough. The two armies at laſt met near Donawert, and almoſt in the ſame plains where marſhal Villars had gained a victory the year before. This general, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, dated the night before the battle, wherein the ſituation of the two armies was deſcribed, and the manner in which Tallard intended to engage; Villars wrote to the preſident de Maiſons, his brother-in-law, that if marſhal Tallard gave battle in that poſition, he would certainly be defeated. This letter was ſhewn to Lewis XIV.

The French army, including the Bavarians, conſiſted of eighty-two battalions, and an hundred and ſixty ſquadrons, which amounted to almoſt ſixty thouſand men; for the companies were not complete. The enemy had ſixty-four battalions and an

(*a*) July 2. 1704.

hundred and fifty-two ſquadrons; but we may reckon them only fifty-two thouſand ſtrong; for armies are generally given out to be more numerous than they really are. This bloody and deciſive battle merits a particular attention. The French generals have been cenſured for many blunders; the principal of which was, the bringing their army under a neceſſity of fighting, inſtead of ſuffering the enemy to be conſumed for want of forage, and giving marſhal Villeroi time either to fall upon the unguarded Low Countries, or march into Germany. But, in anſwer to this reproach, we muſt conſider, that the French being more numerous than the confederate army, they had ſome reaſon to expect the victory; and, had they obtained this, the emperor muſt have been dethroned. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up twelve capital faults committed before and after the battle, by Marſin, Tallard, and the elector: the moſt palpable was, the not placing a ſtrong body of infantry in their centre, and the ſeparating their forces into two bodies. I have often heard marſhal Villars ſay, that this diſpoſition was inexcuſable.

Marſhal Tallard was with the right wing, and the elector, with Marſin, commanded the left. Tallard, in his courage, had all the ardour aud vivacity ſo peculiar to the French: his genius was lively, penetrating, and abounding in expedients and reſources. He was the perſon who had made the partition-treaties: in ſhort, he had obtained glory and fortune by his capacity and courage. The battle of Spires had gained him immortal honour, notwithſtanding all the cenſures of Feu-

quieres; for a victorious general is never guilty of any faults, in the public opinion, in the ſame manner as one who has been defeated, is always ſuppoſed to have acted ill, though his conduct has been never ſo diſcreet.

Tallard had one misfortune extremely dangerous for a general: he was ſo ſhort-ſighted, that he could not diſtinguiſh objects at the diſtance of twenty paces. Thoſe, who have been well acquainted with him, have likewiſe aſſured me, that his ardent courage, quite contrary to that of Marlborough, was apt to be inflamed, in the heat of action, to ſuch a degree, as to deprive him of the perfect uſe of his underſtanding. This defect proceeded from the dry and hot temperature of his blood. It is ſufficiently known, that all the qualities of our ſouls are derived from the natural conſtitution of our bodies.

The marſhal de Marſin had never before commanded in chief; and, with a great deal of ſpirit and good underſtanding, he was ſaid to have rather the experience of a good officer than a general.

As for the elector of Bavaria, he was not ſo much conſidered as a general, as a courageous prince; amiable in his behaviour, beloved by his ſubjects, and one who had more magnanimity than application.

The battle began betwixt twelve and one of the clock. Marlborough, with his Engliſh, having paſſed a rivulet, immediately charged Tallard's cavalry: the marſhal, a little before had paſſed over to the left wing, to obſerve its diſpoſition. To be obliged to engage without their general, was, of itſelf, a great diſadvantage to the marſhal's army. The army, commanded by the elector and Marſin, was not yet attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough

had fallen upon the right wing almoſt an hour before Eugene could advance to the elector on the left.

When marſhal Tallard was told, that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he flew to it inſtantly, and found them in the heat of action: the French cavalry were thrice rallied, and as often repulſed. He went to the village of Blenheim, where he had poſted twenty-ſeven battalions, and twelve ſquadrons. This little ſeparate army made a continual fire on that of Marlborough. From this village, where he gave his orders, he flew again to the other quarter, where Marlborough, with his horſe and his foot between the ſquadrons, was driving before him the French cavalry.

M. de Feuquieres is certainly miſtaken in ſaying, that marſhal Tallard was not there; and that he was taken priſoner upon his return from Marſin's wing to his own. All the accounts agree that he was preſent; and this he experienced to his coſt; for there he was wounded, as was likewiſe his ſon mortally by his ſide. All his cavalry was routed in his preſence. The victorious Marlborough, on one ſide, advanced betwixt the two French armies; as did his general officers on the other ſide, betwixt Blenheim and Tallard's army, ſtill ſeparated from the little army in the village of Blenheim.

Marſhal Tallard, in this diſtreſſed ſituation, haſtened to rally ſome ſquadrons. The weakneſs of his ſight made him miſtake a ſquadron of the enemy for a French one; and he was taken priſoner by the Heſſian troops, then in the pay of England. At this very inſtant too, prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulſed, at laſt gained the advantage. Tallard's army was already completely

routed, and put to flight. The confuſion and diſtraction in this whole right wing was ſo great, that the officers, as well as ſoldiers, threw themſelves into the Danube, without conſidering what they did. None of the general officers gave orders for a retreat; nor did any one think of ſaving, or bringing to action, thoſe twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons of the beſt troops of France, ſo unluckily cooped up in Blenheim. The marſhal de Marſin now made a retreat. Count de Bourg, afterwards a marſhal of France, ſaved a ſmall part of the infantry, by retiring through the marſhes of Hochſtet; but neither he, nor Marſin, nor any other, thought of thoſe forces remaining in Blenheim, waiting for their orders: they amounted to eleven thouſand men, and were all veteran troops. There are many inſtances of leſſer armies, who have defeated others fifty thouſand ſtrong; or who have made glorious retreats: but the ſituation of the place, where an army is poſted, decides every thing. The French found it impoſſible to get out of the narrow ſtreets of a village, to form themſelves in order of battle, before a victorious enemy, which would inſtantly have overpowered them by a more extenſive front, by its artillery, and even by the cannon of the vanquiſhed army, which they had in their poſſeſſion. Their general officer, the marquis de Clerambaut, ſon of marſhal Clerambaut, haſtened to demand orders of marſhal Tallard: but when he found this general was taken priſoner, and ſaw all flying, he alſo took to flight, and ran to drown himſelf in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivieres, who was poſted in the village at this juncture, made a bold and deſperate effort:

he called aloud to the officers of the Artois and Provence regiments to accompany him: theſe, accordingly, with the officers of ſome other regiments, inſtantly followed him. They ruſhed upon the enemy in the ſame manner as a ſally is made from a beſieged town; but, after this ſally, it was neceſſary for them again to retire into the village; and immediately after, an officer named Deſnonvilles, entered the village on horſeback, with the earl of Orkney: "Is this an Engliſh priſoner you "bring?" ſaid the reſt of the officers, crouding about him. "No, gentlemen," he replied, "I "am the priſoner; and come to tell you, that you "have no other courſe to take, but to ſurrender "yourſelves priſoners of war; and here is my lord "Orkney, who offers you terms of capitulation." All theſe veterans expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment; the regiment of Navarre tore their colours, and buried them under-ground: but, at laſt, being obliged to yield to neceſſity, they ſurrendered without fighting. My lord Orkney has himſelf aſſured me, that they could not do otherwiſe, in ſuch a ſituation. All Europe was aſtoniſhed, that the beſt troops of France ſhould, in a body, ſubmit to ſuch an ignominy. Their misfortune was imputed to cowardice; but, ſome years after, fourteen thouſand Swedes ſurrendering themſelves priſoners at diſcretion to the Muſcovites in the open field, not a little juſtified the French.

Such was that celebrated battle, known in France by the name of Hochſtet, of Plentheim in Germany, and, in England, by that of Blenheim. The conquerors loſt near five thouſand in the field, and had eight thouſand wounded; the greateſt part

in that wing commanded by prince Eugene. The French army was almoſt intirely deſtroyed; of ſixty thouſand men, who had been ſo long victorious, there remained not more than twenty thouſand.

About twelve thouſand of the French were killed, and about fourteen thouſand made priſoners: all their artillery, a vaſt number of their ſtandards and colours, their tents and field-equipages, were likewiſe taken by the enemy, together with the general of the French army, and twelve hundred officers of diſtinction. Thoſe who had fled, were diſperſed different ways: in leſs than a month, near three hundred miles of territory were loſt. Bavaria, being now ſubjected to the emperor, felt at once all the enraged rigour of the Auſtrian government, and the rapacious barbarity of a victorious ſoldiery. The elector, in his flight to Bruſſels, met with his brother the elector of Cologn, who was likewiſe driven from his dominions: they embraced each other, and ſhed tears. Amazement and conſternation now ſeized the court of Verſailles, hitherto accuſtomed to proſperity. The news of the defeat came amidſt grand rejoicings for the birth of a great grandſon of Lewis XIV. Nobody dared to tell the king ſo cruel a truth. Madame Maintenon was at laſt obliged to take upon her the office to inform his majeſty, that he was no longer invincible. It has been ſaid, and affirmed in moſt hiſtories, that the emperor cauſed a monument of this defeat to be raiſed in the plains of Blenheim, with an inſcription extremely ſatirical upon Lewis. But ſuch a monument never exiſted: nor was there one any-where but in England, which was erected in honour of the duke of Marlborough. The

queen and parliament built a ſpacious palace in one of the fineſt parts of the kingdom, which has the name of Blenheim. This battle is there repreſented in the pictures, and tapeſtry. The thanks of both houſes of parliament, with thoſe of the cities and boroughs, and the acclamations of all England, were the firſt rewards of his victory. The celebrated poem of Mr. Addiſon, a more laſting monument than the palace of Blenheim, is accounted, by that learned and warlike nation, amongſt the moſt honourable recompences beſtowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, and gave him the principality of Mindelheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he has never been known by this title, the name of Marlborough having become the moſt illuſtrious he could have.

The French army being intirely diſperſed, the allies had now a free communication betwixt the Danube and the Rhine, which they accordingly paſſed, and entered Alſace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for encampments and marches, inveſted Landau. Joſeph, king of the Romans, eldeſt ſon of the emperor Leopold, was preſent at the ſiege. Landau was taken, and likewiſe Traerbach (*b*).

Though three hundred leagues of ground were loſt, yet the frontiers of France ſtill remained undiminiſhed. Lewis XIV. ſupported his grandſon in Spain, and was victorious in Italy. Great efforts were neceſſary to be made in Germany, to oppoſe the victorious Marlborough: and the utmoſt vigour was accordingly exerted. The broken remains of

(*b*) November 19. and 23.

the army were reaſſembled, the gariſons were drained, and the militia ordered to take the field. The miniſter borrowed money from all hands. An army was at laſt muſtered up, and marſhal Villars was recalled from the remoteſt part of the Cevennes, to take upon him the command. Upon his arrival, he found himſelf near Treves, with an inferior force, oppoſite to the Engliſh general. Both were equally deſirous to come to an engagement; but the prince of Baden not coming up in proper time to join the Engliſh troops, Villars had at leaſt the honour to make the duke of Marlborough decamp (*c*); no inconſiderable thing at that time. The duke of Marlborough, who eſteemed marſhal Villars ſo much as to be deſirous of his eſteem, wrote to him, at decamping, in theſe terms: "Do me "the juſtice to believe, that my retreat is owing "to the prince of Baden; and that my eſteem for "you is greater than my anger againſt him."

The French had ſtill barriers in Germany. Flanders, where marſhal de Villeroi commanded, after being delivered from his confinement, was yet untouched. In Spain, Philip V. and the archduke Charles, equally expected to enjoy the crown: the former built his hopes on the power of his grandfather, and the favour of moſt of the Spaniards; the latter depended upon the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the party he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and then ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold, having nothing but his title, went to London, almoſt without attendants, to implore the aſſiſtance of queen Anne.

(*c*) May 1705.

Then it was that the power of England fully diſplayed itſelf. This nation, ſo little intereſted in the quarrel, furniſhed the Auſtrian prince with two hundred tranſport-ſhips, thirty men of war, joined to ten Dutch veſſels, nine thouſand troops, and money, to conquer a kingdom. But, notwithſtanding this ſuperiority, ariſing from power and good offices, yet the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, preſented by the archduke, did not honour his benefactreſs with the title of majeſty: he only gave her that of ſerene highneſs, according to the ſtile of the court of Vienna, which cuſtom only can juſtify.

CHAPTER XIX.

The defeats in Spain; at Ramillies and Turin; and their conſequences.

ONE of the firſt exploits of thoſe Engliſh troops, was the taking of Gibraltar; which, not without reaſon, had been accounted impregnable. The place is rendered ſecure from any approach, on the land-ſide, by a long chain of ſteep inacceſſible rocks. The entrance by ſea is impracticable to large ſhips. The bay being long, dangerous, and ſtormy, ſhips are expoſed to tempeſts, and the cannon of the fortreſs and mole. The citizens alone, in this place, might defend it againſt a thouſand ſhips, and an hundred thouſand men. But even the ſtrength of Gibraltar proved the cauſe of its being taken. The gariſon conſiſted only of an hundred ſoldiers; and this number was ſuffi-

cient: but they neglected a duty which they thought needleſs. The prince of Heſſe had landed eighteen hundred ſoldiers on the iſthmus, behind the northern ſide of the town: the ſteepneſs of the rock, however, made all attempts fruitleſs from that quarter. The fleet made fifteen thouſand diſcharges of cannon; but all in vain. The ſailors, at laſt, in one of their merry moods, rowed with their long-boats under the mole; the artillery of which might have blown them to pieces, but not a ſingle gun was fired. They ſcaled the mole, and made themſelves maſters of it: the ſoldiers haſtened after them; this impregnable place was obliged to ſurrender (*a*); and, to this day, remains in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Spain, become again a formidable power under the government of the princeſs of Parma, the ſecond queen of Philip V. and who has been ſo ſucceſsful in Africa, as well as Italy, with an impotent indignation ſtill beholds Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, whoſe ſhips, two hundred years before, durſt hardly venture into the Mediterranean.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the Engliſh, now maſters of that ſea, engaged count Toulouſe, the French admiral, in ſight of Malaga (*b*). This fight, though not deciſive, was the final period of the maritime power of Lewis XIV. Count Toulouſe, his natural ſon, and lord high admiral of France, had in this engagement, commanded fifty ſhips of the line, and twenty-four gallies. He retired with honour, and without damage. Soon after, the king ſent thirteen ſhips to attack Gibraltar, whilſt marſhal Teſſe beſieged

(*a*) Auguſt 4. 1704. (*b*) Auguſt 1704.

it by land (c); but this double raſhneſs proved at once the ruin of the fleet and army. Part of the ſhips were caſt away in a ſtorm; part were boarded and taken by the Engliſh, after a very brave reſiſtance; and part were burnt on the Spaniſh coaſt. From that day the French no longer made a figure with their numerous fleets on the ocean, nor in the Mediterranean. The marine now almoſt ſunk again to that condition whence Lewis had raiſed it, in the ſame manner, as many other grand things, which had their riſe and fall during his reign.

The ſame Engliſh, who had taken Gibraltar, in ſix weeks conquered the kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They carried Barcelona by a mere chance, which proceeded from the raſhneſs of the beſiegers.

The Engliſh were at that time commanded by one of the moſt extraordinary men that country, ſo fruitful in fierce, courageous, and whimſical geniuſes, ever produced. This was the earl of Peterborough; a man in every reſpect reſembling thoſe imaginary heroes, whom the Spaniards have repreſented in their romances. At fifteen years of age, he left London, to go to the war againſt the Moors in Africa. When he was twenty years old, he began the revolution in England, and became the firſt man of diſtinction in Holland, next to the prince of Orange: but, leſt the deſign of his voyage ſhould be ſuſpected, he embarked for America, and ſailed from thence to the Hague, in a Dutch veſſel. He more than once gave away all his fortune. He, at that time, carried on the war in Spain almoſt at

(c) March 1705.

his own expence, and maintained the archduke, with his whole family. He beſieged Barcelona, with the prince de ‡ Darmſtadt. He propoſed to him, ſword in hand to force the intrenchments, which covered fort Mont-joie and the town. This enterprize was accordingly executed with ſucceſs; but the prince of Darmſtadt periſhed in the attempt. A bomb happening to burſt in the fort, blew up the magazine of powder: the fort was then taken, and the town offered to capitulate. The governor came to a parley with Peterborough, at the gates of the town. The articles were not yet ſigned, when, on a ſudden, there was heard a noiſe of ſhouts and huzzas: "You betray "us," ſaid the governor to Peterborough, "whilſt "we are capitulating with honour and ſincerity: "behold, your Engliſh have entered the town by "the ramparts; and are murdering, plundering, "and committing all manner of outrages." "You "are miſtaken" replied Peterborough;" theſe muſt "be the troops of the prince of Darmſtadt: there "is only one expedient to ſave your town; allow "me to enter inſtantly with my Engliſh; I will "make all quiet, and then return to the gate to "finiſh the capitulation." He ſpoke this with an air of greatneſs and ſincerity, which, joined to a ſenſe of the preſent danger, perſuaded the governor; and Peterborough was accordingly admitted. He haſtened, with ſome of his officers, into the ſtreets, where he found the Germans and Catalans ſacking the houſes of the principal inhabit-

‡ In the hiſtory of Reboulet, this prince is called the head of the factious; as if he had been a Spaniard, who had revolted againſt Philip V.

ants. He drove them away, and obliged them to quit the booty they were carrying off. He luckily reſcued the ducheſs of Popoli out of the hands of the ſoldiers, by whom ſhe was on the point of being diſhonoured; and reſtored her to her huſband. In ſhort, after having quieted all diſturbances, he returned to the gate, and finiſhed the terms of capitulation. The Spaniards were amazed at ſeeing ſuch greatneſs of ſoul in the Engliſh, whom the generality had always looked upon as mercileſs barbarians, becauſe they were heretics.

To the loſs of Barcelona there was likewiſe added another mortification, by an attempt to retake it, which miſcarried. Philip V. though he had the majority of Spain in his intereſt, yet had neither generals nor engineers, and but few ſoldiers. France furniſhed him all. The count de Toulouſe returned, to block up the harbour with twenty-five ſhips, the remains of the French navy. Marſhal Teſſe formed the ſiege with thirty-one ſquadrons, and thirty-ſeven battalions. But as ſoon as the Engliſh fleet appeared, that of the French ſtood away, and marſhal Teſſe raiſed the ſiege in the utmoſt precipitation. He left, in his camp, a vaſt quantity of proviſions, beſides fifteen hundred wounded ſoldiers, who had nothing to truſt to, but the humanity of the earl of Peterborough. Theſe loſſes were conſiderable. It is doubtful whether it had before coſt France more to conquer Spain, than it did now to ſupport her. The grandſon of Lewis, however, always maintained his right, by the affection of the Caſtilian nation, who perſiſted in their choice, and from a principle of pride, continued in their fidelity.

Things went on ſucceſsfully enough in Italy. Lewis had ſufficient revenge on the duke of Savoy. The duke de Vendome had at firſt honourably repulſed prince Eugene at the battle of Caſſano, near the Adda: a bloody action, and one of thoſe undeciſive battles, for which *Te Deums* are ſung on both ſides; but which only tend to the deſtruction of mankind, without advancing the intereſt of any party. After the battle of Caſſano, Vendome gained a complete victory at Caſſinato, in the abſence of prince Eugene. The day after the battle, this prince arrived, and had the mortification to ſee a detachment of his troops intirely routed. The allies were at laſt obliged to quit the whole country to Vendome. There now only remained Turin to be taken, which was inveſted; and there appeared not the leaſt poſſibility of its being ſuccoured. Towards Germany, marſhal Villars drove before him the prince of Baden. In Flanders, Villeroi commanded an army of eighty thouſand men: he was deſirous to engage Marlborough, and highly flattered himſelf he ſhould retrieve the honour he had loſt in the battle with prince Eugene. His too great confidence in himſelf, now proved more fatal than ever to France. Marſhal Villeroi had encamped his army near the Mehaigne, towards the ſource of the Ghette. The centre was at Ramillies; a village which became as famous as Hochſtet.

Villeroi had it in his power to avoid a battle; and all his general officers adviſed him to it: but he was hurried away by a paſſionate deſire of glory. The diſpoſition he made for the engagement is ſaid to have been ſuch, that every experienced officer foreſaw the fatal conſequences. The

new-raiſed troops, undiſciplined and uncomplete, were placed in the centre: he placed the baggage betwixt the lines of his army: and poſted his left wing behind a marſh, as if he intended to prevent its advancing to the enemy.

Marlborough perceived theſe overſights, and accordingly diſpoſed his army ſo as to make the moſt advantage of them. He ſaw, that the left wing of the French army could not attack his right; he therefore immediately filed off a conſiderable part of it, in order to advance to Ramillies with a ſuperior number. Mr. de Gaſſion, the lieutenant-general, ſeeing this movement of the enemy, called aloud to the marſhal: "You are "undone, if you do not inſtantly alter your order "of battle: draw off a detachment from your "left, that you may engage the enemy with an "equal number: make your lines cloſer: if you "delay one moment, all will be irretrievable." Many other officers joined in this ſalutary advice. The marſhal, however, did not liſten to them. Marlborough began the attack, his enemies being ranged in that very order of battle which he himſelf would have choſen to ſecure his victory. This is the account univerſally given in France of this affair; and hiſtory is only a relation of the opinions of mankind. But may we not likewiſe affirm, that the confederate troops were better diſciplined; and that the confidence in their commanders, as well as their late ſucceſſes, inſpired them with greater courage? Did not ſeveral of the French regiments fail in their duty? And are they not the firm and unmoveable battalions, which determine the fate of kingdoms? The French army did not withſtand the

ſhock half an hour. They fought almoſt eight hours at Hochſtet, and killed near eight thouſand of the conquerors; but, at this battle of Ramillies, they hardly deſtroyed two thouſand five hundred of the enemy. The allies gained a complete victory: the French loſt twenty thouſand men, with the glory of their nation, and all hopes of retrieving it. The confederates had gained all Bavaria and Cologn by the battle of Hochſtet; and by this of Ramillies, they now got into their poſſeſſion all the Spaniſh Flanders. The victorious Marlborough entered Antwerp and Bruſſels: he took Oſtend, and Menin ſurrendered to him.

Marſhal Villeroi was in the utmoſt deſpair: he had not courage to write to the king an account of the defeat; and remained five days without ſending any expreſs: at laſt, however, he wrote a confirmation of that news, which had before alarmed the court of France. Nevertheleſs, when Villeroi again appeared before the king, this monarch, inſtead of reproaching him, only ſaid, "Monſieur le Marechal, "one is not happy at our age."

The king immediately recalled the duke de Vendome from Italy, where he ſeemed no longer neceſſary, to ſend him into Flanders, in order, if poſſible, to repair the late misfortune. He hoped, at leaſt, and with an appearance of reaſon, that the taking of Turin would afford ſome conſolation for ſo many loſſes. Prince Eugene was in ſuch a ſituation, that he could not advance to ſuccour that city. He was on the other ſide of the Adige; and as the river on this ſide is fortified by a long chain of intrenchments, the paſſage ſeemed therefore impracticable. This great city was beſieged with forty-ſix

ſquadrons, and an hundred battalions. The duke de Feuillade, who commanded, was one of tke moſt ſhining and amiable characters in France; and, though a ſon-in-law of the miniſter, was greatly in the public favour. He was ſon to that Marſhal Feuillade, who erected a ſtatue of Lewis XIV. in the *Place de Victoires*. He inherited all the courage of his father, with the ſame ambition, the ſame ſplendour, and a better underſtanding. He flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to take Turin; and, as a reward, he expected a marſhal's ſtaff. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had ſpared nothing to make him ſucceed in the attempt. The very imagination muſt be ſtartled at the detail of the preparations for this ſiege. The readers, who have not had an opportunity of being acquainted with ſuch particulars, will, perhaps, not be diſpleaſed, if we here give ſome account of theſe vaſt and uſeleſs preparations.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon; each of which, with their carriages, amounted to two thouſand crowns. They had alſo one hundred and ten thouſand bullets, one hundred and ſix thouſand cartouches of one ſort, and three hundred thouſand of another, twenty-one thouſand bombs, twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred grenades, fifteen thouſand bags of earth, thirty thouſand inſtruments for pioneering, and twelve hundred thouſand pounds of powder. There was, beſides, a vaſt quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, ſulphur, ſaltpetre, with every thing requiſite for miners, and, in ſhort, all ſorts of implements neceſſary to carry on a ſiege. It is certain, that the expence of theſe preparations for deſtruction would have been

ſufficient to ſettle one of the moſt numerous colonies, and to have put it in a flouriſhing condition.

The duke de Fuillade puſhed this ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, and contrary to all rules. He was a man of fire and activity, more capable than any one for ſuch enterprizes as required only courage, but utterly incapable of thoſe where art, deliberation, and time, were neceſſary. The marſhal de Vauban, the only general, perhaps, who loved his country more than himſelf, had propoſed to Feuillade, to come and direct the ſiege as an engineer, and to ſerve in his army as a volunteer; but the haughtineſs of Feuillade made him conſtrue this offer of Vauban into pride under the diſguiſe of modeſty; and he could not bear, that the beſt engineer in Europe ſhould preſume to give him advice. He told him in a letter which I have ſeen, "that he expected to take Turin after the me-"thod of Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies; an excellent engineer, a good general, and he had ſeveral times taken towns fortified by the rules of Vauban. After the ſending of ſuch a letter, Feuillade looked upon himſelf as obliged to take Turin. But having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the ſtrongeſt ſide, and not having ſurrounded the whole town, the inhabitants could ſend ſupplies both of men and proviſions. The duke of Savoy could alſo march out: ſo that all the vehemence which Feuillade ſhewed in many repeated and fruitleſs aſſaults, only protracted the ſiege.

The duke of Savoy ſallied out of the town with ſome cavalry, in order to draw off the duke de Feuillade. The French general accordingly quit-

ted the ſiege to purſue this prince; who, being better acquainted with the country, eaſily eſcaped. Thus Feuillade miſſed the duke of Savoy, and the ſiege ſuffered greatly.

All the inferior officers were ſo aſtoniſhed at the proceedings of their general, that they believed he had no intention to take Turin. It was ſaid, that Feuillade, who was reported to have a paſſion for the ducheſs of Burgundy, had ſworn to that lady to favour her father's capital. This vulgar error became ſo prevalent, that I have hardly known one officer, but believed it, even twenty years after: nay, it was likewiſe given out, that the ducheſs of Burgundy, in order to ſave Turin, had procured madame Maintenon, to bring about thoſe ill-conducted meaſures, which proved the ſafety of the city. Theſe abſurd reports gained credit; and many writers, to their diſhonour, have inſerted them in their hiſtories †.

The duke de Vendome, in order to favour the operations of the ſiege, remained ſtationed on the borders of the Adige, from the thirteenth of May to the twentieth of June. He had with him ſeventy battalions, and ſixty ſquadrons; and, with this ſtrength, he did not doubt he ſhould be able to block up all paſſes againſt prince Eugene.

The general of the Imperialiſts was in great want both of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about ſix millions of our livres; and he at laſt got troops out of the circles of the Empire. Theſe reinforcements, however, arrived ſo late, that all Italy might have been loſt; but the ſiege of Turin was much more tedious.

† See Reboulet.

Vendome was already named to go to retrieve the loſſes in Flanders; but before his departure from Italy, he had allowed prince Eugene to paſs the Adige; he ſuffered him alſo to croſs the white canal, and at laſt the Po, a larger river, and, in ſome parts, more difficult to paſs than the Rhone. Before the French general left the banks of the Po, prince Eugene had it in his power to penetrate even to Turin. Thus the affairs in Italy were in a critical ſituation, whilſt thoſe in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, appeared quite deſperate.

The duke de Vendome went towards Mons to collect the broken remains of Villeroi's army; and the duke of Orleans, nephew to Lewis XIV. ſet out to take upon him the command of the duke of Vendome's forces near the Po. Theſe troops were in diſorder, as if they had been routed. Eugene had paſſed the Po, in ſight of Vendome: he croſſed the Tenaro likewiſe in ſight of the duke of Orleans, and took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; and, having ſtole a march upon the French, he at laſt joined the duke of Savoy near Aſti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to join the duke de Feuillade at the camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed him with all expedition. They had now one of two courſes to follow, either to wait for prince Eugene in their lines of circumvallation, or march out to meet him near Veillane. The duke of Orleans called a council of war, which conſiſted of the marſhal de Marſin, who had loſt the battle of Hochſtet, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, Saint-Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals; "Gentlemen," ſaid the duke of Orleans, "if we remain in our lines, we "ſhall certainly be defeated; for our intrenchments

" are five leagues in extent, and we are not able " to line them. Our regiment of marines is only " two men deep; and there are many places, you " ſee, almoſt without defence. The Doria, which " runs through our camp, will hinder our troops " from bringing quick ſuccour to each other. " Beſides, in waiting for an attack, the French loſe " one of their greateſt advantages; that vehemence, " and thoſe firſt moments of ardour, which ſo " often determine the fate of battles. Believe me " then, we ought to march againſt the enemy." All the lieutenant-generals, with one voice, replied, " Let us march:" but upon this, the marſhal de Marſin pulled out of his pocket an order ſigned by the king, commanding all to ſubmit to his opinion, in regard to an action; and he was for remaining in the lines.

The duke of Orleans now perceived, with indignation, that he was ſent to the army only as a prince of the blood, and not as a general; and, being obliged to acquieſce with the marſhal de Marſin, he prepared to engage in this diſadvantageous ſituation.

The enemy made a feint to form ſeveral attacks at once. Their motions threw the French into great perplexity. The duke of Orleans was for one thing, whilſt Marſin and Feuillade were for another. They diſputed, but came to no determination: but, in ſhort, they ſuffered the enemy to paſs the Doria: which having done, they advanced in eight columns, twenty-five men deep; and the French were now obliged to oppoſe them inſtantly with battalions of an equal depth.

Albergoti, who was ſtationed at a diſtance from

the army, upon the Capuchin mountain, had, under his command, twenty thouſand men; and he was oppoſed only by militia, who dared not to attack him. They ſent to him to demand twelve thouſand men. He anſwered, that he could not leſſen his numbers; and gave ſome plauſible reaſons, which were taken. By this means the time was loſt in delays. Prince Eugene attacked their intrenchments, and in two hours forced them (*d*). The duke of Orleans, having received a wound, was obliged to retire to have it dreſſed. Scarce was he in the hands of the ſurgeons, when he heard that the enemy were maſters of the camp; that the rout was general. He was immediately obliged to fly: the lines and trenches were abandoned, and the whole army was diſperſed. All the baggage, proviſions, ammunition, and the military cheſt, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marſhal de Marſin, being wounded in the thigh, was made priſoner: a ſurgeon, belonging to the duke of Savoy, cut it off; but the marſhal ſurvived the operation only a few minutes. Mr. Methuen, then embaſſador from England to the duke of Savoy, one of the moſt generous, brave, and moſt ſincere men his country ever employed in an embaſſy, had always fought by the ſide of this prince. He had ſeen marſhal de Marſin taken, and was preſent at his laſt moments; and he has told me, that Marſin expreſſed himſelf to him in theſe terms: "Believe, at leaſt, Sir, "that it was contrary to my advice, that we waited "for you in our intrenchments." Theſe expreſſions ſeem poſitively to contradict what had paſſed in the council of war; yet they were certainly true: for the marſhal de Marſin, at his departure from Ver-

(*d*) September 7. 1706.

ſailles, had repreſented to the king, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to march againſt the enemy, if they ſhould advance to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by the former defeats, carried it, that they ſhould not offer, but wait for battle; and this order; given at Verſailles, cauſed the defeat of ſixty thouſand men. The French loſt only two thouſand men in this battle; but we have already ſeen, that ſlaughter does leſs execution than confuſion. Want of ſubſiſtence, which will make a victorious army retreat, obliged theſe vanquiſhed troops to retire to Dauphiny. The late defeat occaſioned ſuch an univerſal diſorder, that though the count de Medavy-grancey, then in Mantua with an army, had defeated the Imperialiſts at Caſtiglione, commanded by the landgrave of Heſſe, afterwards king of Sweden, yet this victory, though a complete one, availed nothing. In a ſhort time, they loſt the duchies of Milan and Mantua, Piedmont, and at laſt the whole kingdom of Naples.

CHAPTER XX.

The conſequences of the defeats received by France and Spain. The humiliation, perſeverance, and reſources of Lewis XIV. The battle of Malplaquet.

THE battle of Hochſtet had coſt Lewis one of the fineſt armies, with all the country betwixt the Danube and the Rhine: and it had coſt the

houſe of Bavaria all her dominions. By the defeat at Ramillies, all Flanders was loſt, even to the gates of Liſle; and by that at Turin, the French were driven out of Italy, as they always had been in all the wars ſince Charlemagne. There remained ſome troops in Milan, and that little army which had been victorious under the count de Medavy. They ſtill kept ſome places; but theſe were offered to be given up to the emperor, on condition he allowed a free retreat to thoſe troops, which amounted to fifteen thouſand men. The emperor accepted of this propoſal, and the duke of Savoy alſo came into it. Thus the emperor, by a ſtroke of the pen, was left in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Italy; and the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily was confirmed to him. All thoſe provinces in Italy, which had been conſidered before as only feudatory, were now treated as intirely ſubject. He taxed Tuſcany at an hundred and fifty thouſand piſtoles, and Mantua at forty thouſand; nor were Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithſtanding their being free ſtates, excepted from theſe taxes.

The emperor, who enjoyed all theſe advantages, was not Leopold, the ancient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under an appearance of moderation, had concealed the moſt profound ambition: it was his eldeſt ſon, the lively, fierce, and paſſionate Joſeph; who, nevertheleſs, was not a better warrior than his father. If ever any emperor ſeemed formed to enſlave Germany and Italy, It was certainly Joſeph. His dominion now extended beyond the Alps. He laid the pope under contribution; and, by his ſole authority, in 1706. he put the electors of Bavaria and Cologn under the ban of the empire: he ſtript

them of all their poſſeſſions, and kept in confinement the children of the houſe of Bavaria, aboliſhing their very name. Their father ſeemed now to have no other reſource, but to linger out his diſgrace in France, or the Low Countries. Philip V. afterwards gave up to him all the Spaniſh Flanders, in 1712 †. If he could have kept this province, which was a better eſtabliſhment than Bavaria, it would have delivered him from the ſlavery of the houſe of Auſtria; but he could only poſſeſs the towns of Luxembourg, Namur, and Charleroi; all the reſt fell into the hands of the conquerors. Every thing now ſeemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who but a little before had ſtruck a terror into all Europe. The duke of Savoy had it in his power to penetrate into France. England and Scotland, having formed an union, made now one kingdom; or, rather, Scotland, being now a province of England, was become an acceſſion to the power of her ancient rival. Towards the end of the year 1706. and beginning of 1707. all the enemies of France ſeemed to have acquired new ſtrength, whilſt ſhe appeared to be on the brink of deſtruction; being preſſed on all ſides both by ſea and land. Of all thoſe formidable fleets which Lewis had raiſed, there remained ſcarce thirty-five ſhips. In Germany, Straſbourg was ſtill the frontier; but, Landau being loſt, Alſace was thereby left expoſed. Provence was likewiſe threatened with an invaſion by ſea and land; and what the French had already loſt in Flanders, made them more apprehen-

† In Reboulet's hiſtory it is ſaid, that he had this ſovereignty from the year 1700.; but he had then only the government of it.

ſive for what remained. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe misfortunes, France ſtill remained untouched; and in this unſucceſsful war, ſhe had as yet loſt nothing but her conqueſts.

Lewis XIV. every-where reſiſted; and though he had received ſo many blows, yet he ſtill oppoſed, protected, or attacked on all ſides. His arms proved as unſucceſsful in Spain, as they had been in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is ſaid, that the ſiege of Barcelona was even worſe conducted than that of Turin.

The count de Toulouſe only appeared with his fleet, and was obliged to ſtand away for Toulon. Barcelona being ſuccoured, the ſiege was abandoned; and the French army, after having loſt one half of their number, retired, without any ammunition, into Navarre, a little kingdom which they preſerved for the Spaniards, and which our kings join as a title to that of France, by an ancient cuſtom, though it ſeems beneath their dignity.

To theſe misfortunes another was added, which ſeemed to complete them. The Portugueſe, aſſiſted by ſome Engliſh, took all the places they inveſted, and advanced into Eſtremadura. They were commanded by a Frenchman, created a peer of England: this was my lord Galloway, formerly the count de Ruvigni; whilſt the troops of France and Spain were headed by the duke of Berwick, an Engliſh nobleman; but they could not ſtop the progreſs of the conquerors.

Philip V. remained in Pampelona, uncertain of his deſtiny; whilſt Charles his competitor, was increaſing his party, and ſtrength in Catalonia.

He had made himſelf maſter of Arragon, the

province of Valencia, Carthagena, and part of Granada. The Engliſh kept Gibraltar in their own poſſeſſion; and they took, for him, Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant. The roads to Madrid being now all laid open, Galloway entered that metropolis without any oppoſition, and ordered the archduke Charles to be proclaimed king: he ſent likewiſe a ſmall detachment to perform the ſame ceremony at Toledo. The affairs of Philip V. appeared ſo deſperate, that marſhal Vauban, that prince of engineers, and excellent patriot, a man always buſied in projects, ſome uſeful, and others impracticable, but all extraordinary, adviſed the court of France to ſend Philip V. to reign in America, and to embark with him all the Spaniards attached to his intereſt. Spain muſt then have been abandoned to civil factions; and the commerce of Mexico and Peru would have come wholly to the French: ſo that, by this change of fortune in the family of Lewis, France might ſtill have promoted her grandeur. The project was certainly deliberated upon at Verſailles; but the unſhaken firmneſs of the Caſtilians, and the miſconduct of the enemy, preſerved the crown to Philip V. The people loved Philip as their own choice; nor could they help having an affection for his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, conſidering the care ſhe took to pleaſe them, the intrepidity ſhe diſplayed above one of her ſex, and the conſtancy and vigour with which ſhe behaved in her misfortunes. She went herſelf from town to town, animating the people, exciting their zeal, and receiving many preſents which were brought to her. By this means, ſhe furniſhed her huſband with more than two hundred thouſand crowns, in the ſpace of three

weeks. Not one of all the grandees, who had taken oaths of allegiance to Philip V. deſerted him. When Galloway proclaimed the archduke at Madrid, many called out, "Long live Philip;" and the populace at Toledo were ſo enraged, that they attacked thoſe who proclaimed the archduke, and obliged them to retire.

The Spaniards till then had done but little in ſupport of their king; but when they ſaw him worſted, then, indeed they exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner; ſhewing, on this occaſion, a courage quite different from that of other nations, who generally begin with great efforts, and afterwards ſlacken. It is difficult to impoſe a king upon a people againſt their inclination. The Portugueſe, Engliſh, and Auſtrians, in Spain, were haraſſed everywhere: they were in want of proviſions, and made many falſe ſteps, ſuch as are almoſt unavoidable in a ſtrange country; ſo that, by degrees they were intirely defeated. At laſt, Philip V. after having been three months an exile from Madrid (*a*), entered again in triumph, and was received with as much joyful acclamation, as his rival had experienced coldneſs and reluctance.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts, when he ſaw the Spaniards acting with ſo much ſpirit: and though he was then obliged to guard all the coaſts upon the ocean and Mediterranean, by placing the militia there; though he had an army in Flanders, another at Straſbourg, a third in Navarre, and a fourth in Rouſillon; yet he ſent a reinforcement to marſhal Berwick in Caſtille.

It was with theſe troops, aided by the Spaniards,

(*a*) September 22. 1706.

that Berwick gained the famous and important battle of Almanza over Galloway. Neither Philip nor the archduke were preſent at this action: and this made the famous earl of Peterborough, a man extraordinary in every thing, ſay aloud, "Excellent, indeed! that we muſt fight for two "princes, who will not fight for themſelves." The duke of Orleans, who intended to be there, being to command in Spain, did not arrive till next day; but he made all poſſible advantage from the victory: he took ſeveral places; and, among the reſt, Lerida, the rock the great Conde had ſplit upon.

On the other ſide, marſhal Villars, who was again inveſted with the command, there being an abſolute neceſſity for a man of his abilities, retrieved the honour loſt at the battle of Hochſtet, in Germany. He had forced the lines of Stolhoffen, on the other ſide of the Rhine, and diſperſed all the enemy's troops (*b*): he raiſed contributions on all the country fifty leagues round, and penetrated at laſt as far as the Danube. This rapid ſucceſs gave the French ſome reſpite on the German frontiers; but all was loſt in Italy. The kingdom of Naples, being defenceleſs, and accuſtomed ſo often to change its maſters, was reduced by the conquerors. The pope was not able to prevent the Germans paſſing through his territory; and he now ſaw, without daring to complain, that the emperor was become his vaſſal, greatly againſt his inclination. This is a remarkable inſtance of the influence of received opinions, and the power of cuſtom, that Naples always can be ſeized upon without conſulting the pope; and yet

(*b*) May 22. 1707.

that the maſters of the kingdom never dare refuſe to pay homage for it to his holineſs.

At the very time when the grandſon of Lewis XIV. loſt Naples, his grandfather was on the point of loſing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, had already entered by the narrow paſſage of Tenda. Lewis was greatly mortified to ſee, that the duke of Savoy, who a year before, had been reduced almoſt to his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been educated in his court, were now on the point of taking from him Toulon and Marſeilles.

Toulon was beſieged with great vigour: an Engliſh fleet, having the command of the ſea, lay before the port and bombarded the town. Had the aſſailants uſed a little more diligence and precaution, and been more unanimous in their meaſures, Toulon muſt have fallen into their hands. Marſeilles, being without any defence, could not have held out; and it was likely, that France would now loſe two provinces: but what ſeems likely, happens but ſeldom. There was time to ſend ſuccour: accordingly, a detachment was diſpatched from marſhal Villars's army to theſe provinces; for they choſe to relinquiſh their advantages in Germany, to preſerve a part of France. The country, through which the enemy penetrated, is dry, barren, and mountainous; proviſions are ſcarce. and a retreat is extremely difficult. The ſickneſs which prevailed in the enemy's army, proved likewiſe greatly in favour of Lewis. The ſiege of Toulon was raiſed (*c*): and ſoon after, Provence was delivered, and Dauphiny freed from all danger; for an invaſion ſeldom ſuc-

(*c*) Auguſt 22. 1707.

ceeds, unleſs the invaders have a perfect knowlege in the country. Charles V. had miſcarried in an attempt on the ſame provinces; and, in our time, the queen of Hungary's troops have alſo proved unſucceſsful in an effort of the like nature.

Nevertheleſs, this irruption ſo expenſive to the allies, was no leſs ſo to the French: a conſiderable part of their territories had been ravaged, and their forces divided.

Europe did not expect, at a time when France was reduced ſo low, and when ſhe accounted it great good fortune to have eſcaped an invaſion, that Lewis would have the boldneſs or ſtrength to make a deſcent upon Great Britain, notwithſtanding the decay of his own navy, and the power of the Britiſh fleets, which covered the ſeas. This project was propoſed by thoſe of the Scots who were attached to king James's ſon. The ſucceſs was doubtful; but Lewis XIV. thought he ſhould acquire certain glory only by the attempt; and he himſelf ſaid, that this motive determined him as much as any political intereſt.

To carry the war into Great Britain, though, at the ſame time, the burden of it was ſupported with great difficulties in ſo many other places; and to endeavour, at leaſt, to re-eſtabliſh James's ſon on the throne of Scotland, whilſt Philip V. could hardly be maintained on that of Spain, ſeemed to be a bold and great undertaking; the ſucceſs of which, after all, did not ſeem altogether improbable.

Amongſt the Scots, all thoſe who had not ſold themſelves to the court of London, repined at being in a ſtate of dependence on the Engliſh. Their ſecret wiſhes were unanimouſly for the deſcendant of

their ancient kings, who, from his cradle, had been driven into exile from the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and even the legality of his birth diſputed. They promiſed, that he ſhould find thirty thouſand men in arms, ready to fight in his cauſe, if he would only land near Edinburgh, with a ſmall force from France.

Lewis XIV. who, in his proſperity, had made ſo many efforts for the father, now exerted himſelf as much for the ſon, even in his adverſe fortune. Eight men of war, and ſeventy tranſports, were fitted out at Dunkirk; in which ſix thouſand troops were embarked. The count de Gace, afterwards marſhal de Matignon, had the command of theſe forces; and the chevalier de Forbin Janſon, a moſt excellent ſea-officer, conducted the fleet. The juncture appeared very favourable: in Scotland there were not above three thouſand regular troops, and England was almoſt without any; all her ſoldiers being then employed in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough: but they were obliged to embark for England; and the Engliſh had then at ſea a fleet of fifty men of war. This enterprize was juſt like that in 1744. in favour of the grandſon of James II. It was defeated by the activity of the Engliſh, and many croſs accidents. The miniſtry at London had ſufficient time to bring over twelve battalions from Flanders; and the moſt ſuſpected perſons in Edinburgh were ſeized. The pretender, at laſt, appeared on the coaſts of Scotland; but the ſignals agreed upon not being given, all that the chevalier de Forbin could now do was to carry him back to Dunkirk. He ſaved the fleet; but no advantage was reaped from the expedition. Matignon was the only gainer by it; for,

having opened his orders at ſea, he found a patent for creating him a marſhal of France: a reward for what he would have done, but could not effect.

If there ever was a chimerical notion, that was certainly one, conceived by ſome hiſtorians, who pretended that queen Anne had a ſecret correſpondence with her brother. It is abſurd, to the higheſt degree, to ſuppoſe, that ſhe would invite her competitor to come and dethrone her. They confounded the time; and it was thought that ſhe favoured him, becauſe ſhe afterwards ſecretly conſidered him as her heir. But who would ever wiſh to be dethroned by a ſucceſſor?

The affairs of France now declining daily, the king reſolved to ſend his grandſon, the duke of Burgundy, to head the armies in Flanders; thinking, that the preſence of the apparent heir to the crown would inſpire the ſoldiery with emulation, which began to languiſh. This prince had a firm and intrepid ſoul; he was pious, juſt, philoſophical, and ſeemed formed to command men of wiſdom. Having been educated by the archbiſhop of Cambray he had a ſtrict regard to all the moral duties: he loved mankind, and was deſirous to render them happy. He had been inſtructed in the art of war, but he looked upon it rather as the ſcourge of the human race, and an unhappy neceſſity, than as a ſource of true glory. This philoſophical prince was ſent againſt the duke of Marlborough, and the duke de Vendome was given him as his aſſiſtant: and here it happened, as it does but too often; the great officer was not heard with proper regard, and the prince's council often prevailed over all the argu-

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ments of the general. In the French army there were two parties; but that of the allies was unanimous in the common cauſe. Prince Eugene was then upon the Rhine; but, when he was with Marlborough, they were always unanimous in their meaſures.

The duke of Burgundy was ſuperior in numbers: France, though all Europe looked upon her as quite exhauſted, had furniſhed him with an army of near an hundred thouſand men, whilſt the allies had only about eighty thouſand. He had likewiſe the advantage of intelligence, in a country which had been ſo long under the Spaniſh government, ſo tired of the Dutch gariſons, and where many of the inhabitants were attached to Philip V. By this means, he eaſily got poſſeſſion of Ghent and Ypres. But the miſconduct in the war rendered all theſe advantages fruitleſs. The diviſion amongſt the French which perplexed all their councils of war, was the occaſion that they firſt marched towards the Dendre, and, two hours after, they turned back towards the Schelde for Oudenard; and, by this means, time was loſt. Prince Eugene, and Marlborough, on the contrary, improved every moment to their advantage, and always agreed in their meaſures. The French were routed near Oudenard (*d*). It was not a great action; but it proved a fatal retreat. Many overſights were committed: the regiments, receiving no orders, eſcaped the beſt they could. There were above four thouſand men taken in the roads by the enemy, a few miles only from the field of battle.

The diſpirited army retired in diſorder under

(*d*) July 11. 1708.

Ghent, Tournay, and Ypres; and ſuffered Eugene, at his return from the Rhine, without any moleſtation, to beſiege Liſle with a leſs numerous force.

To beſiege ſo large and ſo well fortified a town as Liſle, without being maſter of Ghent, without having any other way for a convoy of proviſions, or ammunition, but by Oſtend, and theſe to be brought upon a narrow cauſway, liable to be ſurpriſed every moment, appeared to all Europe as a raſh action; but the miſunderſtanding and perplexity, which prevailed in the French army, rendered it excuſable; and the ſucceſs at laſt juſtified the attempt. Their large convoys, ſo eaſy to be ſeized, eſcaped; and the troops, which eſcorted them, ſo likely to be defeated by ſuperior numbers, came off victorious. The duke of Burgundy's army, which might ſo eaſily have attacked the enemy's imperfect intrenchments, made not the leaſt attempt upon them. In ſhort, Liſle was taken, to the great aſtoniſhment of all Europe, who looked upon the duke of Burgundy as more able to beſiege Eugene and Marlborough, than theſe generals were to inveſt Liſle. Marſhal de Bouflers defended the place for near four months.

The inhabitants were ſo accuſtomed to the noiſe of cannon, and all the horrors of a ſiege, that public entertainments were exhibited, and as much frequented as in time of peace; and though, one day, a bomb fell very near the theatre, yet the diverſion ſtill went on uninterrupted.

Marſhal Bouflers was indefatigable, and had put every thing in ſuch excellent order, that the inhabit-

ants, confiding in his diligence, were intirely eaſy. His defence of this place merited even the eſteem of his enemies, as well as the affections of thoſe he defended, and the rewards of his royal maſter. The hiſtorians ‡, or rather the Dutch writers, who have affected to cenſure him, would have done well to conſider, that, when they contradict the public voice, they ought to have been eye-witneſſes, or to have given the ſtrongeſt evidence for the truth of what they advance.

Mean while, the army, which had beheld the ſiege of Liſle, gradually decreaſed: they allowed Ghent and Bruges to be taken, and all the other important poſts one after another. Few campaigns had been more fatal. The officers, in the duke of Vendome's party, imputed their misfortunes to the duke of Burgundy's council; who, on their ſide, charged all upon the duke de Vendome. All, in ſhort, were exceſſively chagrined by the late diſaſters. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers ſaid to Vendome: "See the conſequences of your never going "to maſs; to this we muſt aſcribe all our misfor- "tunes." "Do you imagine," anſwered Vendome, "that Marlborough goes there oftener than "I?" This rapid ſucceſs of the allies not a little elated the heart of the emperor Joſeph. He was already abſolute in the empire, and maſter of Landau; and he now ſaw the road to Paris almoſt intirely laid open, by the taking of Liſle. A party of

‡ Such is the hiſtory written by the Jeſuit la Motte, who fled into Holland, under the name of la Hode: it was printed for a bookſeller, named Vanduren; and was continued by la Martiniere; the whole being founded upon the pretended memoirs of a count de —— ſecretary of ſtate.

the Dutch had the boldneſs even to force their way to Verſailles from Courtray; and under the very window of the caſtle, carried off the king's maſter of the horſe, whom they miſtook for the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. A general conſternation now ſeized Paris. At this juncture, the emperor had at leaſt as great hopes of eſtabliſhing his brother Charles in Spain, as Lewis had of maintaining his grandſon on that throne.

The Spaniſh monarchy, which the people were ſo zealous to prevent being diſmembered, was already divided amongſt three princes. The emperor had taken, for himſelf, Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples; his brother Charles ſtill kept Catalonia, and part of Arragon. The emperor then forced pope Clement XI. to acknowlege the archduke king of Spain. This pope, who was ſaid to reſemble St. Peter, becauſe he firſt affirmed, then denied, afterwards repented, and wept, had always acknowleged Philip V. after the example of his predeceſſor, and was attached to the Bourbon family. The emperor was now revenged on him by annexing to the Empire ſeveral feudatory principalities, or duchies; particularly thoſe of Parma and Placentia, which before had held of the popes: he likewiſe ravaged ſome of the eccleſiaſtical territories, and ſeized the town of Commacchio. Formerly the pope would have excommunicated an emperor that dared to diſpute any of his moſt triffling privileges; and this excommunication would have dethroned him: but the ſpiritual power of the holy ſee being now reduced to ſuch a degree as was reaſonable, Clement XI. animated by France, had the courage, for a

moment, to have recourſe to the ſword. He armed; but preſently repented: he ſaw, that the Italians, being under an eccleſiaſtical government, were not formed to handle the ſword; he accordingly diſarmed again, left Commacchio in the emperor's poſſeſſion, and conſented thus to addreſs the archduke: "To our very dear ſon, the catholic "king in Spain." The Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean, and the German troops on his frontiers, ſoon after obliged him to write thus; "To our "very dear ſon Charles king of the Spaniſh domi-"nions." This declaration of the pope, which availed nothing in the Empire, might have an influence with the people of Spain, who had been made to believe, that the archduke was unworthy to reign, becauſe he was protected by thoſe heretics who had ſeized upon Gibraltar.

There remained to the Spaniſh monarchy, beſides the continent, the iſland of Sardinia, and that of Sicily; the former was conquered by an Engliſh fleet (e), and given to the emperor; for the Engliſh did not chooſe, that the archduke ſhould have any thing beſides Spain. Their arms, at this time, made the treaties of partition. They deferred the conqueſt of Sicily to another opportunity; thinking it better to employ their ſhips in going in queſt of the galleons from America, ſome of which they took, than to procure more dominions for the emperor.

France was now reduced as low as Rome, and in a more dangerous ſituation; all her reſources being now exhauſted, and her credit intirely ſunk: the

(e) Auguſt 1708.

people, who had idolized Lewis in his proſperity, now, in his misfortunes, murmured againſt him.

The perſons, to whom the miniſtry had ſold their country for ſome ready money on the moſt preſſing emergencies, enriched themſelves by the public misfortunes, and inſulted the national calamities by their riotous luxury: what had been borrowed from them, was already conſumed; and had it not been for the bold activity of ſome merchants, particularly thoſe of St. Malo, who went to Peru, and brought from thence thirty millions of money, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis would not have had wherewith to pay his troops. The war had ruined the ſtate, and the merchants retrieved it. The affairs of Spain were in the ſame ſituation. Thoſe galleons, which eſcaped the Engliſh, contributed to maintain Philip; but this ſupply for a few months did not remove the difficulty of raiſing recruits. Chamillard, who had the management of the finances, as well as the war, gave up the finances in 1708 ‡, which he left in ſuch diſorder, that they could not be repaired during that reign; and, in 1709. he quitted the management of the war, which was become no leſs difficult than the other. A great many faults were laid to his charge; and the public, whoſe cenſures are the more ſevere the more it has ſuffered, did not make an allowance for the misfortunes of the times, when faults cannot be avoided. M. Voiſin,

‡ The Jeſuit la Motte's hiſtory, continued by la Martiniere, aſſerts, that Chamillard was turned out of the miniſtry in 1703. and that marſhal d'Harcourt was called to take upon him the management of the finances by the unanimous voice of the public. The miſtakes of this hiſtorian are numberleſs.

afterwards chancellor, who ſucceeded him in the management of military affairs, and M. Deſmarets, who had the direction of the finances, were unable to form more ſucceſsful plans of war, or re-eſtabliſh the public credit.

The hard winter in 1709. was another aggravation to the deſperate condition of France. The olives, which are the chief ſupport of the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, periſhed; almoſt all the other fruit-trees were likewiſe killed; and their hopes from harveſt were intirely blaſted. There were but few magazines; and any ſupply they could have from the ſea-ports of the Levant, or Africa, muſt have been at the greateſt expence, and very likely to be taken by the enemy's fleets; againſt which they had no naval force to oppoſe. This ſevere winter prevailed through all Europe; but the enemies had more reſources in this calamity. The Dutch eſpecially, who had been ſo long the factors of different nations, had ſtorehouſes ſufficient to ſupply the flouriſhing armies of the allies with plenty of all neceſſaries; whilſt the broken and diſpirited troops of France were ready to periſh with want and miſery.

Lewis XIV. who had already made ſome advances towards a peace, being now in ſuch diſtreſſed circumſtances, reſolved to ſend to the Hague his principal miniſter the marquis de Torci Colbert, together with the preſident Rouille. This was extremely mortifying. They had firſt a conference at Antwerp, with the two burgomaſters, Buis and Vanderduſſen, who ſpoke with the air of conquerors; treating the miniſters of one of the moſt haughty monarchs with all that loftineſs and con-

tempt with which the Dutch had been treated in 1672.

The ſtates general had no ſtadtholder ſince the death of king William; and the magiſtrates in Holland, who already aſſumed the title of *patrician* in their families, were now become ſo many princes. The four Dutch commiſſaries, deputed to the army, behaved in the moſt lordly manner to the thirty German princes in their pay. "Order "Holſtein to come thither," ſaid they: "Tell "Heſſe to come and ſpeak with us." This was the ſtile of thoſe merchants; who, in the plainneſs of their dreſs and diet, piqued themſelves on humbling at once the German pride in their ſervice, and the haughtineſs of a great monarch formerly their conqueror. By ſuch proofs of their ſuperiority, they did not mean to ſhew that all grandeur conſiſts in power: they deſired to have the ſovereignty of ten towns in Flanders; amongſt which were Liſle, then in their poſſeſſion, and Tournay, not yet taken. Thus the Dutch deſigned to reap the fruit of the war, not only at the expence of France, but likewiſe of Auſtria, in whoſe intereſt they fought; after the example of Venice, who had formerly increaſed her territories from thoſe of all her neighbours. The republican ſpirit is, indeed, at bottom, as ambitious as the monarchical.

This evidently appeared ſome months afterwards; for, when this viſionary negotiation was dropt; when the arms of the confederates had acquired greater advantages; the duke of Marlborough, more a ſovereign in England than his royal miſtreſs, having been effectually gained over by the Dutch concluded a treaty with them in 1709. By

this they were to be maſters of all the frontier-towns to be taken from France; they were to keep gariſons in twenty different places in Flanders, at the expence of the country in Huy, Liege, and Bonne; and were to have upper Guelderland intirely under their ſovereignty. They were in effect to become lords of the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and to have ruled in Liege and Cologn. Thus it was they intended to aggrandize themſelves even on the ruins of their allies. They had already projected theſe grand ſchemes, when the principal miniſter of France came to ſue for peace; ſo that it is not to be wondered at, he was received in ſo haughty a manner.

After having heard theſe mortifying preliminaries, the miniſter of Lewis XIV. proceeded to the Hague; where, in the name of his maſter, he was treated with the higheſt indignity. He there found prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the penſionary Heinſius, who were unanimous for continuing the war. The prince, by this, purſued his glory and revenge; Marlborough ſought glory, and an immenſe fortune, both which he equally coveted; Heinſius, being intirely ruled by the other two, looked upon himſelf as a Spartan commonwealthſman, who had humbled a Perſian monarch. They did not propoſe a peace, but a truce; and, during this ſuſpenſion, they demanded an ample ſatisfaction for all their allies, though none for the allies of the king, and that too, on condition he joined with them to drive his grandſon out of Spain, within the ſpace of two months; and, as a ſurety of this, that he ſhould deliver up, for ever, to the Dutch ten towns in Flanders; that he ſhould give

up Straſbourg, Briſac, and intirely renounce all pretentions to Alſace (*g*). Lewis XIV. little expected, when he refuſed prince Eugene a troop of dragoons, when Churchill was not even a Colonel in England, and the name of Heinſius hardly known to him, that theſe three ſhould ever preſcribe him ſuch conditions. The marquis de Torci departed without ſo much as entering into negotiation, and reported to the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis now acted in a manner he had never before done with his ſubjects: he juſtified his conduct to them; and ſent them a circular letter, wherein he ſet forth the neceſſity he lay under, of obliging them ſtill to ſupport the burden of a war: wherein he alſo excited their indignation, their ſenſe of honour, and even their pity. The politicians ſaid, that Torci went, in a ſuppliant manner, to the Hague, for no other reaſon, but to ſhew the inſolence of the enemies, to juſtify Lewis to all Europe, and to animate the French with a ſpirit of juſt reſentment: but the truth is, he went for no other end but to ſolicit peace; nay, the preſident Rouille was left at the Hague, to try if he could procure eaſier terms: but, inſtead of giving any anſwer upon that head, the ſtates commanded him to depart within twenty-four hours.

Lewis XIV. when informed of this mortifying behaviour, ſaid to Rouille, "Since I muſt make war, "I chooſe rather to carry it on againſt my enemies, "than my children." He accordingly made all preparations for another effort in Flanders. The very famine, which depopulated the country, proved a reſource in war; for thoſe who wanted

(*g*) May 22. 1709.

bread became ſoldiers. There were great quantities of land left untilled; but, however an army was raiſed. Marſhal Villars, who had been ſent the preceding year to command the army in Savoy, where he raiſed the ſpirits of the troops, and had gained ſome ſucceſs, was now recalled into Flanders, as the moſt likely perſon to retrieve his ſinking country.

Marlborough had already taken Tournay, whilſt Eugene covered the ſiege. And theſe two generals now marched to inveſt Mons. Marſhal Villars advanced to oppoſe them: he had with him marſhal Bouflers, who, though his ſenior, had ſolicited to ſerve under him. Bouflers ſincerely loved his king and country: he proved, on this occaſion, notwithſtanding the maxim of a great wit, that in a monarchical ſtate, eſpecially under a good maſter, there are virtues; and, doubtleſs, as many and as great, as in republics, with leſs enthuſiaſm, perhaps, but with more of what is termed honour.

As ſoon as the French advanced to prevent the ſiege of Mons, the allies marched to attack them near the wood of Blangies, and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies conſiſted each of about eighty thouſand men; but that of the allies was ſuperior by forty-two battalions. The French brought with them eighty pieces of cannon, and the allies an hundred and forty. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, which conſiſted of the Engliſh and German troops in the pay of England. Prince Eugene was in the centre; and Tilli, with count Naſſau, headed the left wing, compoſed of the Dutch troops.

Marſhal Villars took upon himſelf the command

of the left wing, and appointed Bouflers to command the right (*b*). He had intrenched his army in a hurry; a precaution which ſeemed extremely ſuitable to an army, inferior in numbers, diſpirited with misfortunes, and one half compoſed of young recruits; and ſuitable to the circumſtances of France, which a total defeat muſt reduce to the utmoſt extremity. Some hiſtorians have blamed the general for his diſpoſition: "He ought," ſay they, "to "have paſſed a large hollow, inſtead of having it "in his front." But do not thoſe, who, in their cloſets, pretend to paſs a judgment on what paſſes in a field of battle, ſeem to be a little too confident in their own abilities?

All that I know is, that the marſhal himſelf ſaid that the ſoldiers, who had gone without their bread a whole day, after having received it, threw away part of it, to advance to the engagement free of all incumbrance. There have been few battles, for ſeveral ages, that continued longer, or were more eagerly conteſted, and none more bloody. I ſhall ſay nothing in regard to this action, but what was generally allowed. The left wing of the enemy, where the Dutch fought, was almoſt intirely deſtroyed, and even purſued with muſquet and bayonet. Marlborough, on the right, made, and withſtood, the greateſt efforts. Marſhal Villars drew off ſome part of his centre to oppoſe Marlborough; and, at that very juncture, the centre was attacked; the intrenchments, which covered it, were carried inſtantly; for the regiment of guards, left to defend them, made no reſiſtance. The marſhal, haſten-

(*b*) Sept. 11. 1709.

ing from the left wing to his centre, was wounded, and the battle loſt. The field was covered with near thirty thouſand men, either dead or expiring. There was nothing to be ſeen but one continued heap of carcaſes, eſpecially where the Dutch had been ſtationed. The French, ſcarce loſt above eight thouſand men in this battle, whilſt the enemy had about twenty-one thouſand killed or wounded; for the centre having been forced, and the two wings broke through, the vanquiſhed had made the greateſt ſlaughter.

Marſhal Bouflers ‡ made a retreat in good order; being aſſiſted by the prince de Tingri-Montmorenci, afterwards marſhal Luxembourg; who inherited all the courage of his anceſtors. The army retired between Quenoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them ſeveral colours and ſtandards taken from the enemy. Theſe ſpoils afforded ſome conſolation to Lewis XIV. and the honour of having fought ſo conſiderable a time, and having loſt only the field of battle, was accounted equal to a victory. Marſhal Villars, at his return to court, aſſured the king, that had he not been wounded, he ſhould have gained the victory. I have been in company with the marſhal, who always ſeemed perſuaded of this; but I have met with hardly any perſon of his opinion.

It may ſeem ſomewhat aſtoniſhing, that an army, which had killed of the enemy two thirds more than they had loſt, ſhould not endeavour to hinder thoſe, who had no other advantage than that of ly-

‡ In a book, intitled, *Memoirs du marechal de Barwick*, it is ſaid, that marſhal Barwick made this retreat. Thus it is that moſt memoirs are written.

ing amidſt their dead, from going to beſiege Mons. The Dutch ſhewed great apprehenſions about this enterprize; and not a little heſitated: but the name of a battle loſt impoſes upon the conquered, and diſpirits them. Men never do all they have in their power; and the ſoldier, when told that he is defeated, is afraid of meeting with the like fate again. Mons was therefore beſieged and taken (*i*): and it alſo was given up to the Dutch; as were likewiſe Tournay and Liſle.

CHAPTER XXI.

Lewis XIV. continues to ſue for peace, and to act on the defenſive. The duke de Vendome ſecures the king of Spain on his throne.

THE enemy thus made a gradual progreſs; they not only took, on this ſide, all the barriers of France, but they likewiſe intended, by the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, to invade Franche-Comte, and, by the two extremities to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. In order to facilitate this enterprize, general Merci was ordered to enter the higher Alſace, by Bale; but he was luckily obſtructed by count, afterwards marſhal, du Bourg, near the iſle of Newbourg on the Rhine (*a*). Thoſe of the name of Merci, by I know not what fatality, have been always as remarkable for their misfortunes,

(*i*) October 11. 1709. (*a*) Auguſt 26. 1709.

as their reputation. This we have juſt mentioned, was intirely defeated. Nothing was attempted on the ſide of Savoy; but the French were nevertheleſs in great apprehenſions from Flanders; and the inner parts of the kingdom were in ſuch a declining ſtate, that Lewis ſtill ſued for peace in a ſuppliant manner. He offered to acknowlege the archduke as king of Spain; to give no aſſiſtance to his grandſon, but to leave him intirely to his own fortune; to give four cautionary towns; to deliver up Straſbourg and Briſac; to renounce the ſovereignty of Alſace, and only to keep the government thereof; to demoliſh all the forts betwixt Bale and Philipſbourg; to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, and intirely eraſe the fortifications of that place, which had been formidable for ſo conſiderable a time; to give up to the ſtates general Liſle, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Conde, and Maubeuge. Theſe were, in part, the articles upon which it was propoſed to conclude the peace which he implored.

The allies, by way of triumph, pretended they wanted to examine more narrowly into the ſubmiſſions of Lewis XIV. They allowed his plenipotentiaries to come, the beginning of 1710. to the little town of Gertrudenberg, with the petitions of that monarch. For this purpoſe, he made choice of marſhal d'Uxelles, a man of a cool and reſerved temper, and though not of a bold and enterpriſing turn, yet extremely diſcreet in his conduct; together with the abbot, afterwards cardinal de Polignac, a man of the fineſt genius, and one pf the greateſt orators of his age: made at once to pleaſe by the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and the force of his eloquence. Neither wiſd om, eloquence, nor wit, however,

avail any thing in miniſters, when the prince is unſucceſsful. Victories are the beſt peace-makers. The embaſſadors of Lewis were rather confined at Gertrudenberg, than admitted to treaty. The deputies came to hear their propoſals, which they carried to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, embaſſador from the emperor. Theſe offers were always received with contempt. They were inſulted by ſcurrilous libels; all of which were compoſed by French refugees, who were become greater enemies to the glory of Lewis XIV. than Marlborough or Eugene.

The French plenipotentiaries even ſubmitted ſo far as to promiſe, that the king ſhould contribute money to dethrone Philip V. and yet they were not liſtened to. The allies inſiſted, as one of the preliminaries, that Lewis ſhould engage, by himſelf, to drive his grandſon out of Spain, by force of arms, in two months. This abſurd inhumanity, much more inſolent than a downright refuſal of peace, aroſe from new ſucceſſes.

Whilſt the confederates treated in this haughty manner in oppoſition to the grandeur and pride of Lewis XIV. they took the town of Douay: ſoon after, they alſo made themſelves maſters of Bethune, Aire and Saint-Venant. The earl of Stair even propoſed to ſend detachments to the gates of Paris.

Almoſt at the ſame time, the archduke's army, commanded by Gui de Staremberg, the German general, who had the greateſt reputation after prince Eugene, gained a complete victory, near Saragoſſa (*b*), over the army in which Philip placed all his hopes,

(*b*) Auguſt 20. 1710.

commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. It was again remarked that neither of the two princes, who diſputed the crown of Spain, though both within reach of the army, was preſent at the battle. Of all the princes who were fought for by the other powers of Europe, the duke of Savoy was the only one who ſerved in perſon. It was hard, however, that he could not acquire this glory, but by fighting againſt his two daughters; one of whom he wanted to dethrone, in order to gain a ſmall part in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joſeph had already raiſed difficulties, and of which he would certainly be deprived the firſt opportunity.

This emperor was every-where ſucceſsful, and every-where ſhewed great want of moderation in his proſperity. By his own authority alone, he diſmembered Bavaria, and gave away the juriſdictions thereof to his relations and creatures. He ſtript the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy. The princes of the empire furniſhed him with an army on the Rhine; not conſidering, they contributed to ſtrengthen a power they dreaded: ſo much did the ancient hatred againſt the name of Lewis XIV. ſtill prevail in their minds, that the humbling of that monarch ſeemed their firſt care. Joſeph had likewiſe the good fortune to overcome the malecontents in Hungary. France had ſtirred up againſt him the prince Ragotſki, who took arms in defence of his own rights, and thoſe of his country. Ragotſki being defeated, his towns were taken, and all his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad as at home, by ſea as by land, and in his public negotiations, as well as private intrigues.

All Europe now imagined, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joſeph, would reign in Spain without any rival; but Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. This was England, who had been, for a conſiderable time jealous of the Spaniſh-Auſtrian branch, and Holland, its revolted ſlave, who had almoſt exhauſted herſelf to eſtabliſh the Auſtrian family. Philip V. who had returned to Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valadolid, whilſt the archduke made his entry into the capital in triumph.

The French king could no longer aſſiſt his grandſon; he had been obliged to do in part what his enemies had demanded at Gertrudenberg; to abandon the cauſe of Philip, by ordering his troops from Spain for his own defence: for he could not, without the utmoſt difficulty, defend himſelf towards Savoy, the Rhine, and eſpecially in Flanders, where the war was carried on with the greateſt vigour.

Spain was in a ſtill more diſtreſſed condition than France: all her provinces had been ravaged by enemies, or protectors. She had been invaded by Portugal, and all her commerce was deſtroyed. There was likewiſe a general ſcarcity throughout the kingdom; but this proved more fatal to the conquerors than the conquered, becauſe, in a conſiderable part of the country, the people refuſed every thing to the Auſtrians, whilſt their affections prompted them to do all in their power for Philip. This monarch had now neither troops, nor a general, from France. The duke of Orleans, by whom his tottering condition had been ſomewhat recovered,

inſtead of continuing to command his armies, was become his enemy. It is certain, indeed, that notwithſtanding the affection of Madrid for Philip, and the attachment of great part of the nobles, and all Caſtille, to his cauſe, yet he had ſtill a formidable party in Spain againſt him. All the Catalans, a warlike and obſtinate people, were ſtrongly attached to his competitor; and the half of Arragon was likewiſe gained over to the ſame intereſt. One party of the people waited the event; another hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, of the ſame name with Philip, diſſatisfied with the Spaniſh miniſtry, and more ſo with the princeſs des Urſins, who chiefly governed, began now to entertain ſome hopes, that he might be able to procure for himſelf the kingdom he had been defending: accordingly when Lewis had propoſed to abandon his grandſon, and an abdication was talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himſelf worthy to fill the throne, which Philip ſeemed about to renounce. He had pretenſions to the crown of Spain, which the teſtament of the deceaſed king had neglected; but his father had kept up his rights by entering a proteſt.

By his agents he made a private league with ſome of the Spaniſh nobles, whereby they engaged to place him on the throne, if Philip ſhould abdicate. In this caſe he would certainly have found many of the Spaniards ready to inliſt under the banners of ſo warlike a prince. Had this project ſucceeded, it could not have diſpleaſed the maritime powers, who would then have had leſs occaſion to be afraid of ſeeing France and Spain united under the ſame prince; and it would likewiſe have removed ſome obſtacles

to the peace. The ſcheme was diſcovered at Madrid, about the beginning of 1709. when the duke of Orleans was at Verſailles, and his agents in Spain were immediately impriſoned. Philip could not forgive his relation for imagining that he would abdicate, and for having formed a deſign to ſucceed him. France likewiſe exclaimed againſt him; and the dauphin, father to Philip V. gave it as his opinion in council, that he ought to be proceeded againſt as guilty of high treaſon: but the king choſe rather to bury in ſilence this unformed and excuſable project, than to puniſh his nephew at a time when his grandſon was on the brink of deſtruction.

At laſt about the time the battle of Saragoſſa was fought, the king of Spain's council, and moſt of the nobles, being ſenſible they had no able commander to oppoſe againſt Staremberg, who was regarded as another Eugene, they wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. intreating he would ſend them the duke of Vendome. This prince, who had retired to Anet, accordingly departed. His preſence was equal to an army. The great reputation he had acquired in Italy, not impaired by his unfortunate campaign at Liſle, ſtruck the Spaniards with admiration. His popularity, his liberality, which even extended to profuſion, his openneſs of temper, and his love for the ſoldiery, gained him univerſal eſteem. As ſoon as he ſet foot in Spain, it happened to him as formerly to Bertrand du Gueſclin; his name alone drew numbers of volunteers. He wanted money; and this he was ſupplied with by the boroughs, cities, and religious houſes. The whole nation was ſeized with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The broken remains of the battle of Saragoſſa were again brought

together, and united under him at Valadolid; and every part of Spain was eager to furniſh him with recruits. The duke de Vendome, being reſolved not to ſuffer this ardour to cool, purſued the conquerors, brought back the king to Madrid, and obliged the enemy to retire to Portugal. He ſtill followed them, forded the Tagus, took Stanhope priſoner at Brihuega, with five thouſand Engliſh, came up with general Staremberg, and the very next day gave him battle at Villavicioſa. Philip V. who had never yet fought in perſon with his other generals, being animated by the ſpirit of Vendome, put himſelf at the head of the right wing, and the general commanded the left. Here they gained ſo complete a victory, that, in the ſpace of four months, this prince, who, at his arrival, found every thing in the moſt deſperate ſituation, reſtored perfect quiet, and ſettled for ever the crown of Spain on Philip.

Whilſt this great revolution aſtoniſhed the allies, another leſs diſtinguiſhed, though not leſs deciſive, was forming in England. Sarah Jennings, ducheſs of Marlborough, intirely ruled queen Anne, and the duke governed the nation. He had the treaſury at his command, by means of Godolphin the lord high treaſurer, father-in-law to one of his daughters: he wholly influenced the council by means of Sunderland his ſon-in-law, ſecretary of ſtate; and the queen's houſhold, where his wife preſided, was at his devotion. He was abſolute maſter of the army, all the poſts in it being in his diſpoſal. The Whigs and Tories were the two parties which then divided England; the former, of which Marlborough was the head, refuſed nothing

to promote his grandeur; and the latter were forced to admire him, and be ſilent. It may not be unworthy of hiſtory to take notice, that the duke and ducheſs were the moſt graceful perſons of their time; and that this outward advantage not a little attracts the multitude, eſpecially when joined to honour and glory.

He had even more intereſt at the Hague than the grand penſionary; and his influence in Germany was conſiderable, being always as ſucceſsful a negotiator as a general; no private perſon had ever ſo extenſive a power, or ſo high a glory. He might alſo ſtrengthen his power by that immenſe wealth which he acquired in his command. I have heard it ſaid by his widow, that, after four children had their patrimonies, there remained, excluſive of any court favour, a yearly income of ſeventy thouſand pounds, equal to about one million five hundred thouſand livres of the preſent French money. Had not his parſimony been equal to his grandeur, he might have formed a party the queen would have been unable to deſtroy: and if his ducheſs had had a little more condeſcenſion, the queen would never have ſhaken off her fetters. But the duke could not overcome his paſſion for riches, nor the ducheſs give up her humour. The queen had loved her to ſuch a degree, as to be under a perfect ſubjection to her will. In ſuch connexions, diſguſt generally proceeds from the perſon who has the greateſt aſcendant. Caprice, haughtineſs, and an abuſe of this ſuperiority, often render the yoke intolerable, and the ducheſs of Marlborough carried them to the higheſt degree. The queen began to look about for another favourite, and turned her eyes upon Mrs. Maſham. The

ducheſs was now rouſed with jealouſy. Some gloves of a particular make, which ſhe had refuſed the queen, and a baſon of water, ſhe, with affected careleſſneſs, in her majeſty's preſence, let fall on lady Maſham's gown, gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. The queen and ducheſs became now highly incenſed againſt each other. The new favourite's brother ſolicited the duke for a regiment: he refuſed this requeſt, and the queen granted it. The Tories ſeized this opportunity to deliver the queen from her domeſtic ſlavery; to humble the power of Marlborough; to make a change in the miniſtry; to conclude a peace; and, if poſſible, to reſtore the Stuart family to the throne of England. Had the ducheſs been a little more pliant in her diſpoſition, ſhe might have regained her influence. Her majeſty, and ſhe, had been accuſtomed to write to each other under fictitious names. This myſterious and familiar correſpondence left a channel always open for reconciliation; but the ducheſs uſed this only to widen the breach. She wrote in an imperious manner, ſaying in her letter, "Do me juſtice, and give me no "anſwer." She afterwards repented, and, in tears, came to aſk pardon. The queen made her no other reply than this: "You have ordered me to give "you no anſwer, and I will obey." The rupture being now irreparable, the ducheſs appeared no more at court. Some time after, they began with turning Sunderland out of the miniſtry, in order next to diſplace Godolphin, and then the duke himſelf. In other kingdoms, this is termed a diſgrace; but, in England, it is a change of miniſtry. This, however, was extremely difficult to bring about. The Tories, though maſters of the queen,

were not ſo of the kingdom. They were obliged to have recourſe to religion; of which they have no more at preſent in Great Britain than the little which is wanted to diſtinguiſh parties. The Whigs inclined to preſbyterianiſm: this was the party which had dethroned James II. perſecuted Charles II. and beheaded his father. The Tories, were for epiſcopacy, which favoured the houſe of Stuart, and wanted to eſtabliſh the doctrine of paſſive obedience towards kings, the biſhops expecting thereby to procure a greater ſubmiſſion to themſelves. They ſpirited a preacher to enforce this doctrine in the cathedral of Saint Paul's, to paint the adminiſtration of Marlborough in the moſt odious colours, and to blacken the whole party, which had fixed the crown on king William. But the queen, though ſhe favoured this prieſt, had not a ſufficient power to hinder his ſermon being publicly burnt, and himſelf ſilenced for three years, by both houſes of parliament. The queen was ſtill more ſenſible of her weakneſs, when ſhe found, that notwithſtanding her ſecret affection for her own blood, ſhe durſt not open the paſſage to the throne, ſhut againſt her brother by the Whigs. Thoſe writers, who ſay that Marlborough, and his party, fell as ſoon as the queen withdrew her favour, ſeem not to be acquainted with the conſtitution of England. The queen, though ſtrongly inclined to a peace, dared not even to remove Marlborough from the command; and, in the ſpring of 1711. he ſtill continued to haraſs France, notwithſtanding his diſgrace at court. Propoſals of peace from France were ſecretly offered at London; but the queen's new miniſtry durſt not yet accept of them.

A new event, as unexpected as many others, effected this grand work. This was the death of the emperor Joſeph (*c*), who left all the dominions of the Auſtrian family, the empire of Germany, and his pretenſions on Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor of the Romans a few months after.

As ſoon as the emperor's death was known, thoſe prejudices, which had armed ſo many nations, began now to be diſſipated in England, by means of the new miniſtry. Great pains had been taken to hinder Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, under the name of his grandſon; and why ſhould they now wiſh to ſee ſo many dominions united in the houſe of Charles VI.? Why ſhould the Engliſh nation exhauſt their treaſures? They contributed more than Holland and Germany together; and the expence of the preſent year amounted to ſeven millions ſterling. Muſt Great Britain ruin herſelf in a cauſe in which ſhe was ſo little intereſted, and to procure a part of Flanders for the United Provinces, her rivals in commerce? Theſe conſiderations, which emboldened the queen, opened the eyes of great part of the nation; and a new parliament being called, ſhe was now at liberty to make preparations for the peace of Europe.

But though ſhe was ſecretly endeavouring to bring it about, ſhe could not yet publicly diſengage herſelf from her allies; and whilſt private negotiations for a peace were tranſacting in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on hoſtilities in the field. He made continual advances in Flanders, and forced the lines which marſhal Villars had drawn from

(*c*) April 17. 1711.

Montreuil to Valenciennes: he took Bouchain, and advanced as far as Queſnoi (*d*); from whence to Paris there was hardly a ſingle fort to oppoſe him.

It was at this unfortunate time, that the famous Gue-trouin, by his courage, and the aſſiſtance of ſome merchants, having no rank in the navy, and owing every thing to himſelf, equipt a fleet, and took St. Sebaſtian de Rio Janeiro (*e*), one of the principal towns in Braſil. He returned loaded with riches; but the Portugueſe loſt more than he gained. All this damage, however, done at Braſil, proved no remedy to the misfortunes of France.

CHAPTER XXII.

The victory gained at Denain by marſhal Villars. The affairs of France retrieved. A general peace concluded.

THE negotiations for a peace were now publicly entered upon at London. The queen ſent the earl of Strafford embaſſador to Holland, to lay before the ſtates the propoſals of Lewis XIV. It was not Marlborough they had now to ſolicit; for Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive thoſe of France.

There were three eminent men who ſtill oppoſed this peace. Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinſius, perſiſted in their reſolution to diſtreſs Lewis

(*d*) Sept. 1711. (*e*) Sept. and Oct. 1711.

XIV. But the Engliſh general, upon his return to London, towards the end of 1711. was diveſted of all his employments. He found a new houſe of commons; nor had he now a majority amongſt the lords; for the queen, having created ſeveral peers, had thereby weakened the duke's party, and made an acceſſion to that of the crown. Like Scipio, he was accuſed of miſdemeanours; but he extricated himſelf, like him, by his glory, and by retiring. However, he was ſtill powerful in his diſgrace. Prince Eugene ſcrupled not to come over to London to aſſiſt his party. This prince met with ſuch a reception as his rank and diſtinguiſhed merit deſerved; and the refuſal due to his propoſitions. The court prevailed: prince Eugene returned alone to finiſh the war; and, having no companion to ſhare the honour, this was a freſh incitement to him, to hope for new victories.

Whilſt the conferences were carrying on at Utrecht, where the French miniſters, who had been ſo haughtily treated at Gertrudenberg, came now to negotiate on more equal terms; marſhal Villars, having retired behind his lines, covered Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Queſnoy, and extended in the country an army of about an hundred thouſand men. The Dutch had made an extraordinary effort; and though hitherto they had not borne the expence they had agreed to in the war, yet this year they even furniſhed beyond their contingent. Queen Anne could not yet openly diſengage herſelf. She had ſent the duke of Ormond, with twelve thouſand Engliſh, to prince Eugene's army, and ſtill retained in her pay a conſiderable body of Germans. Prince Eugene, having burnt

the ſuburbs of Arras, marched againſt the French army, and propoſed to the duke of Ormond to give battle: but the Engliſh general had been ſent thither with orders not to fight. Mean while, the particular negotiations of France and England advanced, and a ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed betwixt the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſurety that he would perform his engagements. The duke of Ormond retired towards Ghent: he carried with him all the Engliſh troops, and wanted likewiſe to have drawn off thoſe in his miſtreſs's pay; but he could only procure twelve regiments of Holſtein, and a regiment of Liege to follow him. The troops of Brandenbourg, the Palatinate, Saxony, Heſſe, and Denmark, ſtill remained under prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. Even the elector of Hanover, who was to ſucceed queen Anne, left his troops with the allies in ſpite of her; ſhewing thereby, that, though his family expected the crown of England, they did not build their hopes on any favour from the queen.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the Engliſh, was ſtill ſuperior to the French army by twenty thouſand men: he was ſo too by his ſituation, by his having plenty of every thing, and by a courſe of victories for nine years.

Marſhal Villars could not hinder him from beſieging Landrecy. France, being drained of men and money, was in the utmoſt conſternation; nor could the French depend greatly on the conferences at Utrecht, ſince the ſucceſs of prince Eugene might render them all ineffectual. Conſiderable detach-

ments of the enemy had already ravaged part of Champagne, and penetrated even to the gates of Rheims.

There was now a general alarm in Verſailles, and throughout the whole kingdom. About a year afterwards happened the death of the king's only ſon: the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy with their eldeſt ſon, being taken off ſuddenly in a few months after, were carried to their graves in the ſame hearſe; the youngeſt of their children was likewiſe at the point of death. Theſe domeſtic misfortunes, joined to thoſe abroad, and the public miſery, made the end of Lewis's reign appear as a period deſtined for calamity; and the French now expected more misfortunes, than they had before ſeen glory and grandeur.

About this very time, the duke de Vendome died in Spain. That ſpirit of dejection and deſpondency which prevailed through all France, and which I myſelf remember, made every one apprehenſive, that Spain, hitherto ſupported by Vendome, would now be loſt by his death.

Landrecy could not hold out long. It was even debated in council at Verſailles, whether the king ſhould not retire to Chambord. Upon this occaſion, his majeſty told marſhal d'Harcourt, that, in caſe of any new misfortune, he would ſummon together all the nobility of his kingdom, and, notwithſtanding he was in his ſeventy-fourth year, would lead them on againſt the enemy, and die at the head of his army.

A miſtake of prince Eugene delivered the king, and the whole kingdom from their perplexities. It is ſaid that his lines were too much extended;

that his magazine of ſtores in Marchiennes was at too great a diſtance; and that general Albemarle, poſted at Denain, betwixt Marchiennes and the prince's camp, was not properly ſituated to be ſpeedily ſuccoured, if attacked. I have been aſſured, that a very beautiful Italian lady, whom I ſaw ſome time after at the Hague, and who was then kept by prince Eugene, reſided at the Marchiennes; and that ſhe was the cauſe of the magazine being fixed at this place. It ſeems not to be doing juſtice to prince Eugene, to imagine that a woman ſhould influence his military diſpoſitions. Thoſe who know, that a curate, together with a counſellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval, walking towards theſe parts, were the firſt who projected the attack on Denain and Marchiennes, may better demonſtrate, from this fact, by what ſecret and weak ſprings the greateſt affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre gave his opinion to the governor of the province; he communicated it to marſhal Monteſquieu, who commanded under Villars. The general approved of it, and put it in execution. This action proved, in effect, the ſafety of France, more than the peace with England. Marſhal Villars gave prince Eugene the ſlip; he ordered a body of dragoons to advance in ſight of the enemy's camp, as if they were about to attack it; and whilſt theſe retired towards Guiſe, the marſhal marched to Denain (*a*) with his army, in five columns and forced the intrenchments of general Albemarle, defended by ſeventeen battalions, who were all killed or taken. The general ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner, together with two princes of Naſſau, a prince of Holſtein, a prince of Anhalt,

(*a*) July 24. 1712.

and all the officers. Prince Eugene haſtened with what troops he could get, but did not arrive till the action was over: he went to attack a bridge leading to Denain, which the French guarded; but in this attempt he loſt moſt of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after being a witneſs of this defeat.

All the poſts towards Marchiennes, along the Scarpe, were carried one after another, with great rapidity. The French now advanced to Marchiennes, defended by four thouſand men: they beſieged the place with ſo much vigour, that, in three days, the whole gariſon were made priſoners *(b)*, together with all the proviſions, and warlike ſtores, which the enemy had amaſſed for the campaign. Marſhal Villars had now intirely the ſuperiority. The enemy, being diſconcerted, raiſed the ſiege of Landrecy, and ſuffered Douay, Queſnoy, and Bouchain, to be retaken (*c*), ſo that the frontiers were now in ſecurity. The army of prince Eugene retreated, after having loſt fifty battalions; forty of which, from the battle of Denain to the end of the campaign, had at different times been taken priſoners. The moſt ſignal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

If marſhal Villars had had the popularity of ſome other generals, he muſt now have been extolled as the deliverer of his country; but his ſervices were hardly acknowleged; and amidſt the public joy for this unexpected ſucceſs, envy was ſtill predominant.

Every ſtep of Villars haſtened the peace of Utrecht. The miniſtry of queen Anne, accountable to their own country, as well as Europe, neglected

(b) July 30. 1712. *(c)* Sept. and Oct. 1712.

neither the intereſt of England, nor that of their allies, nor the public ſafety. They, in the firſt place, inſiſted, that Philip V. eſtabliſhed in Spain, ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the crown of France, which he had always maintained; and that his brother the duke de Berri, heir apparent to the crown of France, after Lewis's only great grandſon, who was almoſt at the point of death, ſhould likewiſe renounce all claim to the crown of Spain, in caſe he became king of France. The ſame renunciation was alſo required of the duke of Orleans. But the late war, of twelve years continuance, proved the weakneſs of ſuch ties upon mankind. There is as yet no law acknowleged, which can oblige the deſcendants to deprive themſelves of the right of reigning, though their fathers may have renounced it. Such renunciations are of no efficacy, but when the common intereſt agrees with them. However, for a little, they calmed a ſtorm which had continued for twelve years; and it was very probable, that the time would come when ſeveral nations would endeavour to maintain theſe renunciations, now become the baſis of the balance and tranquillity of Europe.

By this treaty they gave the duke of Savoy the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king; and, on the continent, Feneſtrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas; thus they aggrandized him at the expence of the houſe of Bourbon.

They aſſigned the Dutch a conſiderable barrier, which they had always deſired; and as they had taken ſome territories from the houſe of Bourbon in favour of the duke of Savoy, ſo likewiſe they incroached a little on the rights of the Auſtrian fa-

mily, to ſatisfy the Dutch, who, at the expence of this houſe, were now to become the governors and maſters of the ſtrongeſt towns in Flanders. The commercial intereſt of Holland was taken care of; and articles were likewiſe ſtipulated in favour of Portugal.

To the emperor was allotted the ſovereignty of the Ten provinces in Spaniſh Flanders, and the important government of the barrier towns. He had likewiſe confirmed to him the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, with all his poſſeſſions in Lombardy, and the four ſea-ports on the coaſts of Tuſcany: but the council of Vienna, looking upon themſelves as aggrieved, would not agree to theſe conditions.

In regard to Great Britain, her intereſt and glory were intirely ſecured. She procured, as one article, that the harbour of Dunkirk, which had been the cauſe of ſo many jealouſies, ſhould be demoliſhed and filled up. Spain left her in the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Minorca. France gave up to her Hudſon's-Bay, the iſland of Newfoundland, and Acadia. As to her trade in America, ſhe even obtained privileges not granted to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We muſt likewiſe aſcribe to the Engliſh miniſtry, as a moſt glorious article, their obliging Lewis XIV. to ſet at liberty thoſe of his ſubjects, who had been confined for their religious principles. This was, indeed, to dictate laws; but ſuch, however, as were perfectly equitable.

Queen Anne, at laſt, ſacrificing the rights of blood, and the ſecret inclinations of her heart, to the good of her country, uſed her intereſt to have the ſucceſſion ſettled, and properly ſecured, upon the houſe of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologn, the duke of Bavaria was to keep the duchy of Luxembourg, and county of Namur, till he and his brother were re-eſtabliſhed in their electorates; for Spain had given up theſe two ſovereignties to the Bavarian, as a recompence for his loſſes; and the allies had neither taken Namur nor Luxembourg.

As to France, who agreed to demoliſh Dunkirk, and to give up ſo many places in Flanders, formerly conquered by her arms, and confirmed by the treaties of Nimigen and Ryſwick, ſhe had given up to her Liſle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus it appeared, that the Engliſh miniſtry rendered juſtice to all parties; but they themſelves did not meet with the like candour from the Whigs. One half of the Engliſh nation ſoon after inſulted the memory of queen Anne, for having done one of the greateſt and beſt actions that can ever be in the power of a ſovereign, that of reſtoring peace to ſo many nations. She was reproached, in that ſhe might eaſily have diſmembered France, and yet neglected the opportunity.

All theſe treaties were ſigned one after another, in the year 1713. The emperor, either through the obſtinacy of prince Eugene, or the bad policy of his council, entered not into any of theſe negotiations: he might certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Straſbourg, had he at firſt come readily into the meaſures of queen Anne; but he remained obſtinate for war, and had nothing. Marſhal Villars, having ſecured what remained of the French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine; and, after having made himſelf maſter of Spires, Worms, and all the adjacent country, took Landau, the ſame

which the emperor might have preſerved by a peace (*d*). He forced the intrenchments which prince Eugene had drawn in the Briſgaw, and defeated marſhal Vaubonne within his lines (*e*). He likewiſe beſieged and took Fribourg (*f*), the metropolis of Upper Auſtria.

The council of Vienna were, on all ſides, extremely urgent for the ſuccours promiſed by the circles of the Empire. Theſe reinforcements, however, did not arrive; and the emperor at laſt became ſenſible, that without England and Holland, he could not oppoſe France; and he reſolved, when too late, to make peace.

Marſhal Villars, having thus concluded the war, had likewiſe the honour of concluding a peace at Raſtadt with prince Eugene. This was, perhaps, the firſt inſtance of two generals meeting, at the end of a campaign, to treat in the name of their maſters. Upon this occaſion, they both behaved with that eaſy freedom peculiar to their characters. I have heard marſhal Villars ſay, that the following was one of his firſt expreſſions to prince Eugene: "Sir, we are not enemies to each other; your ene-"mies are at Vienna, and mine at Verſailles." Both, indeed, had always factions to ſtruggle againſt at their own courts.

In this treaty no mention was made of the rights which the emperor pretended upon the monarchy of Spain, nor the empty title of Catholic king, which Charles VI. always aſſumed, whilſt Philip V. had the kingdom. Lewis XIV. ſtill kept Straſbourg and Landau, which he had before propoſed to reſign, together with Hunninguen and new Briſac, which

(*d*) Aug. 20. 1713. (*e*) Sept. 20. (*f*) Oct. 30.

he had offered to demoliſh; and he ſtill retained the ſovereignty of Alſace, which formerly he would have renounced: and what was moſt honourable, he got the electors of Bavaria and Cologn re-eſtabliſhed in their dominions and honours.

It is very remarkable, that France, in all her treaties with the emperors, always protected the rights of the princes and ſtates of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberty at Munſter, and got an eighth electorate created for the houſe of Bavaria. The treaty of Nimigen confirmed that of Weſtphalia. By the treaty of Ryſwick, France procured the cardinal de Furſtemburg the reſtoration of all his poſſeſſions; and now, by the peace of Utrecht, ſhe re-eſtabliſhed the two electors. It muſt be owned, that in all this negotiation, which terminated ſo long a diſpute, France received the law from England, and, in her turn, gave it to the Empire.

The hiſtorical memoirs of theſe times, from whence moſt of the hiſtories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, ſay, that prince Eugene, at the concluſion of the conferences, begged the duke de Villars, in his name, to embrace Lewis's knees, and to preſent that monarch with the moſt profound and ſincere reſpects "of a ſubject to his ſovereign." But, in the firſt place, it cannot be ſaid, that a prince, the grandſon of a prince, is the ſubject of another prince, becauſe he was born in his dominions. Secondly, it is ſtill leſs conſiſtent, that prince Eugene, the generaliſſimo of the empire, ſhould call himſelf a ſubject of the French monarch.

Mean while, each power took poſſeſſion of their

new rights. The duke of Savoy got himſelf acknowleged in Sicily, without conſulting the emperor, who in vain complained. Lewis ſent his troops to take poſſeſſion of Liſle. The Dutch ſeized upon the barrier towns; and the ſtates of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thouſand florins annually, for being maſters of Flanders. Lewis ordered the harbour of Dunkirk to be filled up, the citadel to be raſed, and all the fortifications, and the mole to be deſtroyed, in ſight of the Engliſh commiſſary. The Dunkirkers, now ſeeing their commerce intirely ruined, ſent a deputation of their number to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was not a little mortifying to Lewis XIV. that his ſubjects ſhould go to ſolicit the favour of a queen of England; but it was ſtill more mortifying to them, that the queen was obliged to refuſe their requeeſt.

The king, ſome time after, cauſed the canal of Mardyke to be inlarged; and, by means of the ſluices, an harbour was ſoon made, ſaid to be equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, embaſſador from England, made warm remonſtrances to Lewis on that account. It is ſaid, in one of the beſt books extant, that his majeſty made this reply to lord Stair: "Mr. Embaſſador, I have always been maſter "in my own kingdom, and ſometimes in others; "do not remind me of this." I am quite certain, that Lewis never made ſo unſuitable an anſwer. He had never been maſter of the Engliſh; but was the fartheſt from it that could be. He was always indeed maſter in his own dominions: but the queſtion is, whether he was ſo far maſter, as to be able to elude a treaty, to which he owed his

preſent tranquillity, and, perhaps the greateſt part of his kingdom. It is however certain, that he immediately put a ſtop to the works at Mardyke; and thus yielded to the embaſſador's repreſentations, inſtead of treating them with diſregard. All that had been done at Mardyke, was ſoon after demoliſhed, during the regency, and the treaty fulfilled in every particular.

Notwithſtanding this peace of Utrecht, and that of Raſtadt, Philip V. did not enjoy all the Spaniſh monarchy; he had ſtill Catalonia to ſubdue, as well as the iſlands of Majorca and Ivica.

Here I muſt take notice, that the emperor Charles had left his wife at Barcelona; and, not being able to ſupport the war in Spain, nor willing to give up his rights, and accept of the peace of Utrecht, had agreed with queen Anne, that the empreſs and her troops, being of no more ſervice in Catalonia, ſhould be embarked in Engliſh veſſels. Catalonia was accordingly evacuated; and Staremberg, at his departure, reſigned the title of viceroy. But he left all the ſeeds of a civil war; and the hopes of a ſpeedy relief from the emperor, and even from England. Thoſe who had then the greateſt influence in that province, imagined they might now form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the Spaniſh monarch would not be able to reduce them. They now diſplayed the ſame character which Tacitus aſcribed to them ſo long ago: "An intrepid people, "ſays that hiſtorian, "who look upon life as nothing, when not em-"ployed in fighting."

Had they exerted themſelves as much for Philip

V. their king, as they did againſt him, the archduke would never have contended for Spain. They ſhewed plainly, by their obſtinate reſiſtance, that Philip V. though diſengaged of his competitor, could not alone reduce them. Lewis XIV. who, towards the cloſe of the war, could neither furniſh his grandſon with ſhips nor ſoldiers againſt Charles, now ſupplied him with both to quell his revolted ſubjects. The port of Barcelona was blocked up with a French fleet, and marſhal Berwick beſieged it by land.

The queen of Great Britain, faithful to her treaties, did not ſuccour this town. The emperor promiſed, but ſent no ſuccour: the beſieged defended themſelves with a courage ſupported by a kind of fanatical madneſs. The prieſts and monks ran to arms, and mounted the breaches, as if they fought for religion. The phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the offers made by their maſter. More than five hundred eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives in arms at this ſiege; and we may eaſily judge from thence, whether their diſcourſe and example had not greatly animated the people.

They hung out a black flag from the breach, and bore ſeveral aſſaults in a ſurpriſing manner. The aſſailants having at laſt forced their way, the beſieged fought from ſtreet to ſtreet: when the old town was taken, they retired to the new; and, in capitulating, they ſtill demanded the preſervation of their rights (*g*). However, they only obtained their lives and properties; for moſt of their privileges were taken away. Sixty monks were condemned to the galleys; and this was the only ven-

(*g*) September 12. 1714.

geance taken. Philip V. had treated the little town of Xativa more ſeverely in the courſe of this war: he had raſed it to the very foundation, as an example to deter others. But though an inconſiderable place might be thus deſtroyed, it would have been extremely unpolitic to demoliſh a large town, with ſo fine a port, and ſo beneficial to the whole kingdom.

This fury of the Catalans, which had not inſpired them when Charles VI. was amongſt them, but tranſported them to ſuch a degree, when deſtitute of aſſiſtance, was the laſt flame of that fire which had laid waſte the moſt beautiful part of Europe, for ſo conſiderable a time, occaſioned by the will of Charles II. king of Spain.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The ſtate of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1750.

I Shall continue to call this a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms againſt his two daughters. The prince de Vaudemont, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the archduke Charles, had like to have taken priſoner his own father in Lombardy, who was in the intereſt of Philip V. Spain had been divided into factions; and whole regiments of French Calviniſts had ſerved againſt their native country. It was, in ſhort, for a ſucceſſion amongſt relations, that a general war had been commenced; and it muſt likewiſe be obſerved, that queen Anne excluded from

the throne her own brother, whom Lewis protected, and whom ſhe was obliged to proſcribe.

Human prudence and expectations were defeated in this war, as they generally are in every thing. Charles VI. though twice proclaimed at Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when ready to ſink, recovered by the unexpected broils in England. The council of Spain who had called the duke of Anjou to the throne, only to prevent their monarchy from being diſmembered, ſaw it ſtill divided. Lombardy, and part of Flanders, remained to the houſe of Auſtria: the houſe of Pruſſia had likewiſe a ſmall part of Flanders: the Dutch had the ſovereignty of another; and a fourth part was left in poſſeſſion of the French. Thus the inheritance of the houſe of Burgundy was divided amongſt four powers; and the houſe which ſeemed to have moſt right, did not preſerve one acre in the Spaniſh dominions. Sardinia, though of little importance to the emperor, remained to him for ſome time. He alſo for ſome time poſſeſſed Naples, that grand fief of Rome, which is ſo often, and ſo eaſily ſeized. The duke of Savoy had Sicily for four years, keeping it chiefly to maintain againſt the pope an extraordinary, but ancient right of being pope himſelf in this iſland; that is, of being almoſt in every point, abſolute ſovereign in matters of religion.

The weakneſs of human policy appeared ſtill more after the peace of Utrecht, than during the war. It is certain, that the new miniſtry of queen Anne had ſecretly formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing the ſon of James II. on the throne. Queen Anne herſelf, influenced by her miniſters, began to liſten to the voice of nature, and entered into the deſign of ſettling the

ſucceſſion on her brother, whom ſhe had proſcribed againſt her inclination. Her death, however, prevented this project being put in execution. The family of Hanover, whom ſhe looked upon as aliens, and diſliked, ſucceeded. Her miniſters were perſecuted; and the pretender's party, having made an attempt for him in 1715. were defeated. This rebellion, which if the queen had lived a little longer, would have been termed a legal revolution, was puniſhed by the blood of thoſe who were concerned in it.

The good underſtanding, and union, betwixt France and Spain, which had raiſed ſuch apprehenſions, and given the alarm to ſo many nations, was broken off as ſoon as Lewis XIV. died. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable as to his guardianſhip of the young prince, behaved as if he himſelf had been to ſucceed. He formed a ſtrict alliance with England, though reputed the natural enemy of France, and made an open rupture with that branch of the Bourbon family which reigned at Madrid. Philip. V. who had renounced all pretenſions to the crown of France by the late peace, raiſed, or rather gave the authority of his name to raiſe, ſeditions in France; which ought to have choſen him regent, as he could not reign in that kingdom. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. all the views, negotiations and political meaſures, took a quite different turn in his family, as well as amongſt moſt of the princes in Europe.

The regent of France, in concert with the Engliſh, attacked Spain; ſo that the firſt war of Lewis XV. was undertaken againſt his uncle, whom Lewis

XIV. had ſettled on his throne, at the expence of ſo much blood.

During the courſe of this ſhort war, the Spaniſh miniſtry deſigned to take advantage of the duke of Savoy; who had likewiſe formed a ſcheme of doing ſomewhat of the ſame nature with regard to the emperor. The reſult of this chaos of intrigues was, that the Spaniards deprived the emperor of Sardinia, and the duke of Savoy of Sicily, in 1718.: but France having defeated them by land, and the Engliſh by ſea, they were forced to give up Sicily to the houſe of Auſtria; and Sardinia was aſſigned to the dukes of Savoy, who ſtill poſſeſs it, and bear the title of kings of that iſland.

To ſhew by what a blind fatality the affairs of this world are often governed, we may obſerve, that the Ottoman empire, which might have attacked Germany during the courſe of the long war in 1701. deferred it till the concluſion of the general peace, and then declared war againſt the emperor, who had an army of veteran troops, commanded by prince Eugene; who conquered the Turks in two memorable battles, and forced them to accept of a diſhonourable peace: and, as a farther addition to theſe contradictions, in which all affairs abound, this very emperor, victorious over the Turks, could not procure Sicily, without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the regent of France.

But what moſt aſtoniſhed all the courts of Europe, was to ſee, ſome time after, in 1724. and 1725. Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly ſo incenſed againſt each other, now ſo cloſely united; and affairs ſo turned from their natural courſe, that the Spaniſh miniſtry, for a whole year, intirely governed

the court of Vienna. This court, which hitherto always exerted herſelf to hinder the Spaniſh branch of the French family from all acceſs into Italy, ſo far quitted her natural ſentiments, as to admit a ſon of Philip, and Elizabeth of Parma, his ſecond wife, into Italy; from which it was deſigned to exclude both French and Spaniards. The emperor gave up to this younger ſon of his competitor, the poſſeſſion of Parma, Placentia, and the grand duchy of Tuſcany: and though the ſucceſſion of theſe dominions was not open, Don Carlos was admitted there, with ſix thouſand Spaniards; and the expence of Spain was only two hundred thouſand piſtoles, given to the court of Vienna.

This error of the emperor's council was far from being a lucky one; for it coſt him dear in the conſequences. The whole of this affair was unnatural: two families who had been enemies, formed an union, without having any confidence in each other. The Engliſh, who had done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Minorca and Gibraltar, were the mediators in this treaty; and it was ſigned by Ripperda, a Dutchman, who was become a duke, and a man of great power in Spain: he was ſoon after diſgraced, and went to end his days at Morocco, where he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a new religion.

Mean while, in France, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which ſeemed likely to be ſo full of troubles, by means of his ſecret enemies, and the general diſorder of the finances, proved the moſt quiet and fortunate. The French had been inured to perfect ſubmiſſion under Lewis XIV. And hence aroſe the ſafety of the regent, and the public tran-

quillity. A conſpiracy, directed at a diſtance by cardinal Alberoni, and but ill conducted in France, was diſcovered, and cruſhed in the bud. The parliament, which, during the adminiſtration of the late queen regent, had raiſed a civil war, for the places of twelve maſters of requeſts; and had annulled the wills of Lewis XIII. and XIV. with leſs ceremony than that of a private perſon, was ſcarce at liberty to make remonſtrances, when the value of their ſpecie was increaſed to three times more than the uſual ſtandard; and their proceſſion afoot from the grand chamber to the Louvre ſerved only to draw upon them the railleries of the people. The moſt unjuſt edict that had ever been iſſued, the prohibiting the whole inhabitants of a kingdom to keep by them above five hundred livres in current coin, raiſed not the leaſt commotion. A general want of ſpecie, the people flocking in crouds to the office, to receive a little money for the neceſſary expences of life, in exchange for a diſcredited paper, which overſpread the whole kingdom; ſeveral perſons ſqueezed to death in the croud, and their bodies carried by the people to the royal palace; all theſe things produced no appearance of a ſedition. In ſhort, this famous project of Law's, which had ſeemed to threaten the regency and the kingdom with deſtruction, contributed, in reality to the ſupport of both, by conſequences which none had foreſeen.

The paſſion for riches, which now ſeized all ranks of people, from the loweſt claſs to the magiſtrates, biſhops, and even princes of the blood, turned the minds of every one from all attention to the public intereſt, and all political or ambitious views; for the thoughts of every one were now wholly engroſſed

with the fear of loſing, and the deſire of gaining. It was, indeed, a new and ſurpriſing game, wherein the whole nation betted againſt each other; and, having the true ſpirit of eager gameſters, they did not chooſe to quit their play, to diſturb the government. It happened, however, which could not be foreſeen but by perſons of the greateſt experience and penetration, that a chimerical project produced a real commerce, and reſtored the India company, which had been eſtabliſhed by the famous Colbert, but ruined by the late wars. In ſhort, though the fortune of many private perſons was ruined, yet the nation, in a little time, became richer, and more flouriſhing in commerce. This project ſharpened the underſtanding of the people, as civil wars generally excite their courage.

The diſtraction in the finances having ceaſed with the regency, that in politics alſo ſubſided as ſoon as cardinal Fleury came to the head of the miniſtry. If there ever was an happy mortal upon earth, the cardinal was ſurely ſo. He was looked upon as a moſt amiable man, and perfectly agreeable in converſation, even to his ſeventy-third year: and at this age, when others retire from the world, he took into his hands the helm of government, and was always conſidered as a perſon of the higheſt wiſdom. All his meaſures, from 1726. to 1742. proved ſucceſsful; and he preſerved his intellectual faculties ſound, clear, and capable of tranſacting affairs, even to the ninetieth year of his age.

When we conſider, that, of a thouſand of our cotemporaries, there is very rarely one who arrives at this age, we muſt allow, that Fleuri had a peculiar deſtiny. If his grandeur was extraordinary,

which having begun ſo late, ſhone ſuch a conſiderable time, without any cloud to obſcure it, his moderation, and ſweetneſs of manners, were no leſs conſpicuous. The riches and magnificence of cardinal d'Amboiſe, who aſpired at the papacy, are well known; as well as the arrogant ſimplicity of Ximenes, who raiſed armies at his own expence, and who, in the dreſs of a monk, ſaid, that he led the nobles of Spain with his cord. Every one is likewiſe acquainted with the regal pomp of Richelieu, and the immenſe riches amaſſed by Mazarin. The characteriſtic of cardinal Fleury was moderation. He was ſimple, and frugal, in every particular, and always uniform in his behaviour: he had nothing high nor elevated in his character; which was owing to his mildneſs, equanimity, and love of order and peace. He proved, that perſons of a mild, condeſcending, and benevolent temper, are beſt formed to govern others.

He let the kingdom quietly repair its loſſes, and grow rich by an extenſive commerce, without making any innovation: thus treating the ſtate as a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution, which naturally recovers of itſelf.

Political affairs inſenſibly returned into their natural chanel. Happily for Europe, Sir Robert Walpole, the prime miniſter of England, was of a diſpoſition equally pacific. Theſe two men maintained almoſt all Europe in that tranquillity which laſted from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733.; and which was but once interrupted by the ſhort war in 1718. This was an happy time for all nations, who, cultivating commerce and arts with emulation, forgot their paſt calamities.

In theſe times two powers aroſe, which had been hardly mentioned in Europe before this age. The one was Ruſſia, which the czar Peter the Great had raiſed out of a ſtate of barbarity. This monarchy, before his time, conſiſted only in vaſt deſarts, and a people without laws, without diſcipline, and without any uſeful knowlege; ſuch as the Tartars have always been. This country was ſo little known in France, that when Lewis, in 1668. received an embaſſy from Muſcovy, a medal was ſtruck on the occaſion, as had been done in memory of the Siameſe embaſſy. This new empire, after having humbled Sweden, began to have an influence in all affairs, and to give laws in the North.

The ſecond power eſtabliſhed by force of art, and upon leſs extenſive foundations, was Pruſſia. It was as yet, however, only in its infancy, and had not diſtinguiſhed itſelf.

The houſe of Auſtria remained almoſt in the ſame ſtate in which ſhe had been placed by the peace of Utrecht. England ſtill preſerved her power by ſea, whilſt that of Holland gradually decayed. This little commonwealth, become powerful through the indolence of other nations, began to decline, becauſe her neighbours now carried on the trade, which the Dutch before had wholly to themſelves. Sweden languiſhed, whilſt Denmark flouriſhed. Spain and Portugal were chiefly ſupported by America. Italy, which was always in a weak condition, remained divided into as many ſtates as at the beginning of the age, excepting Mantua, annexed to the Auſtrian family.

Savoy at this time ſurpriſed the world with an

extraordinary occurrence, which may ſerve as a grand leſſon to ſovereigns. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, that Victor Amedeus, who had been ſometimes an enemy, and ſometimes an ally, to France aud Auſtria, and whoſe inconſtancy had paſſed for policy, being at laſt tired of buſineſs, and of himſelf, in the year 1730. and the ſixty-fourth year of his age, through caprice reſigned the crown he had borne the firſt of his family; and a year after, in another fit of caprice, repented of this ſtep. Neither the company of his miſtreſs, who was become his wife, devotion, nor tranquillity, were ſufficient employment to a ſoul like his, which, for fifty years, had been buſied in the affairs of Europe. He gave a remarkable inſtance of human frailty, and ſhewed how liable the mind is to be diſſatisfied, either in a private ſtation, or on a throne. In this age four ſovereigns renounced their crowns: Chriſtina, Caſimir, Philip V. and Victor Amedeus. Philip reſumed his againſt his inclination; Caſimir never once thought of it; Chriſtina had once thoughts of it, upon a diſguſt ſhe received at Rome; Amedeus was the only one who endeavoured by force to re-aſcend the throne which he had quitted through an uneaſineſs of mind. The conſequence of this attempt is well known. His ſon, Charles-Emanuel, might have acquired a glory ſuperior to the poſſeſſion of any crown, in reſtoring his father what he held from him, had his father alone, or the circumſtances of time, exacted his compliance; but an ambitious miſtreſs wanted to reign: and all the council were under a neceſſity to prevent this, and even to confine their late ſovereign. He died

ſoon after in priſon. It has been ſaid, though falſely, in the memoirs of theſe times, that the court of France intended to ſend twenty thouſand men to aſſiſt the father againſt his ſon: but neither the abdication of that prince, nor his effort to regain the crown, nor his confinement, nor death, cauſed the leaſt motion amongſt any of the neighbouring nations.

All remained peaceable from Ruſſia even to Spain, till the death of Auguſtus II. plunged Europe again into freſh troubles and commotions, from which ſhe is ſo ſeldom exempted.

King Staniſlaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. having been already nominated to the ſucceſſion of Poland in 1704. was elected king in 1733. in the moſt ſolemn and legal manner. But the emperor Charles VI. procured another election, which was ſupported by his own arms, and thoſe of Ruſſia; and a ſon of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried it againſt his competitor. Thus the houſe of Auſtria, which had not been able to preſerve Spain and the Weſt-Indies, and which could not even ſettle a trading company at Oſtend, yet had ſufficient intereſt to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown. France beheld a ſecond example of what had formerly happened to prince Armand de Conti; who, having been ſolemnly elected, but having neither money nor troops, and being rather recommended than ſupported, loſt the crown to which he had been elected.

King Staniſlaus went to Dantzick, to ſupport his election: but the great majority in his favour ſoon

yielded to the great majority againſt him. This country, where the people are ſlaves, where the nobility ſell their votes, where they never have a ſufficient treaſury to maintain an army, where the laws are without force, and where liberty is only productive of diviſions; this country, I ſay, boaſted in vain of its warlike nobility, who could bring into the field an army of an hundred thouſand men on horſeback. Ten thouſand Ruſſians at once put to flight all who were aſſembled in favour of Staniſlaus. The Poliſh nation, who, the preceding age, looked upon the Ruſſians with the utmoſt contempt, now dreaded them, and followed the meaſures they dictated. The empire of Ruſſia had become formidable ever ſince the time of Peter the Great. Ten thouſand diſciplined Ruſſian ſlaves diſperſed the whole nobility and gentry of Poland; and king Staniſlaus, having taken ſhelter in Dantzick, was very ſoon beſieged there by an army of thirty thouſand men.

The emperor of Germany, being in union with Ruſſia, was almoſt ſure of ſucceſs. In order to keep an equal balance, France ought to have ſent a numerous army by ſea; but England, as ſoon as ſhe had ſeen ſuch vaſt preparations, would have declared herſelf. Cardinal Fleury, who took particular care to keep England quiet, was neither willing to ſuffer the ſhame of deſerting Staniſlaus, nor did he chooſe to venture too great a force to ſuccour him. He ſent a fleet with fifteen hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. The officer imagined, that nothing was in earneſt deſigned; and when he approached Dantzick, thinking he ſhould ſacrifice his men to no manner of purpoſe, he put

into Denmark to refreſh. The count de Plelo, embaſſador from France at the Daniſh court, was highly enraged at this retreat, and looked upon it as diſhonourable. He was a youth, who, having ſtudied the belles letters and philoſophy, had imbibed the moſt heroic ſentiments, and ſuch as merited a better fate than he met with. He reſolved to ſuccour Dantzick againſt ſo numerous an army with this ſmall force, or to die in the attempt. Before his embarkation, he wrote a letter to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, which ended with theſe words: "I am certain I ſhall not return: I there-" fore recommend my wife and children to your " care." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, and, having diſembarked, he attacked the Ruſſian army; and after having received many wounds, he periſhed, as he had foreſeen; and all his party were either killed or taken priſoners. His letter, and the news of his death, arrived at the ſame time. Dantzick was taken, and the French embaſſador in Poland, who happened to be in this place, was made a priſoner of war, in violation of the privileges due to his character. Staniſlaus was obliged to diſguiſe himſelf, and at laſt eſcaped, after having run through many dangers, and ſeen a price ſet upon his head by the Muſcovite general, in a free country, the place of his nativity, and amidſt a nation who had elected him king, with all the formality of their laws. The French miniſtry would have intirely loſt that reputation neceſſary for the ſupport of its grandeur, if it had not revenged ſuch an inſult; but a revenge, unleſs attended with ſome utility, would but little avail.

The great diſtance of the places hindered them from carrying their reſentment againſt the Muſcovites; and policy directed their vengeance upon the emperor. This they accordingly put in execution in Germany, and in Italy. France formed a league with Spain and Sardinia; and though theſe three powers had each ſeparate intereſts, yet they all aimed at humbling Auſtria.

The dukes of Savoy, for a conſiderable time, had been gradually increaſing their dominions, by ſometimes ſelling their aſſiſtance to the emperors, and ſometimes by declaring againſt them. King Charles-Emanuel had great hopes of getting the Milaneſe, and was promiſed it by the French and Spaniſh miniſtries. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his conſort, expected greater poſſeſſions than Parma and Placentia to be ſettled on her children. France propoſed no other advantage but her own glory, the welfare of her allies, and the humbling of her enemies.

Nobody then expected, that Lorrain ſhould be the fruits of this war. Mankind are generally guided by events, which they ſeldom have the direction of. No negotiation was ever more ſpeedily terminated than that which united theſe three monarchs.

England and Holland, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to join Auſtria againſt France, abandoned her at this juncture. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation, which the French court had lately acquired. The notion of her being pacifically inclined, and void of all ambition, kept her natural enemies quiet even when ſhe declared war; and nothing ſurely can redound more to the honour of the miniſtry than their hav-

ing perſuaded ſuch powers, that France might carry on a war againſt the emperor, without giving any alarm to the liberty of Europe: all theſe powers accordingly beheld the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms, eaſy and undiſturbed. A French army had gotten poſſeſſion of the country upon the Rhine; and another party of their troops in conjunction with thoſe of Spain and Savoy, had rendered themſelves maſters of Italy. Marſhal Villars finiſhed his glorious career, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, after having taken Milan. Marſhal de Coigni, his ſucceſſor, gained two battles; whilſt the duke de Montemar, the Spaniſh general, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, at Bitonto, from whence he was ſurnamed; this being an honour which the Spaniards often beſtow, in imitation of the ancient Romans. Don Carlos, who had been acknowleged hereditary ſucceſſor of Tuſcany, became immediately king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the emperor Charles VI. loſt almoſt all Italy, for having given a king to Poland: and, in two campaigns, a ſon of the Spaniſh monarch got both the Sicilies, ſo often taken and retaken formerly, and upon which, for more than two ages, the houſe of Auſtria had continually fixed her attention.

This was the only war in Italy which ended with any ſolid advantage to the French, ſince the time of Charlemagne. The reaſon of this was, their having the guardian of the Alps on their ſide, who was become one of the moſt potent princes in thoſe parts; their being likewiſe ſeconded by the beſt troops of Spain; and their armies being conſtantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries.

The emperor then thought himſelf very happy

in receiving conditions of peace offered by the victorious French. However, cardinal Fleury, who had the ſagacity to prevent England and Holland from intermeddling in this war, ſhewed likewiſe his great addreſs in finiſhing it ſucceſsfully, without their mediation,

By this treaty, Don Carlos was acknowleged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe had already been often accuſtomed to ſuch alterations. They aſſigned to Francis duke of Lorrain, deſtined to be ſon-in-law to the emperor, the inheritance of the Medicis family, which had been before granted to Don Carlos: and this made the late grand duke of Tuſcany, upon his death-bed, aſk, "If "they would not name a third heir, and what other "child the Empire and France would give him." We muſt not imagine from this, that the grand dukedom of Tuſcany conſiders itſelf as a fief of the Empire; but the emperor eſteemed it as ſuch, as well as Parma and Placentia, which have been always claimed by the holy ſee; and for which the late duke of Parma did actually pay homage to the pope: ſo much do the rights of princes alter with the circumſtances of time. By this peace theſe duchies of Parma and Placentia, which by right of blood, belonged to Don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. and a princeſs of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The duke of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, who expected the duchy of Milan, which his family, become great by degrees, for a conſiderable time, claimed as their right, got only a ſmall part thereof; viz. the Novareſe, Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of the Langhes. He derived his pretenſions to Milan from a daugh-

ter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was deſcended. France likewiſe pretended thereto, by right of Lewis XII. the natural heir of this duchy. Philip V. urged alſo his right to Milan, as it had been feudatory ſucceſſively to four kings of Spain, his predeceſſors. But all the pretenſions yielded to convenience, and the public intereſt. The emperor kept the Milaneſe, notwithſtanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which ſays, that the emperor ſhall keep the ſovereignty, but give the poſſeſſion to ſome other power. It was intended as a limitation on the emperors, who might otherwiſe in time ſwallow up the whole dominions of the Empire. But there are ſo many exceptions to this law, and there are ſo many examples for and againſt it, that, in any grand affair of ſtate, it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent intereſt is the ruling law.

By this treaty, king Staniſlaus renounced a kingdom, which though it had been twice given him, he could never get poſſeſſion of; but he kept the title of king. For this loſs he was now to have a recompence; but it proved more ſo to France than him. Cardinal Fleury was contented at firſt with Barrois, which the duke of Lorrain was to give up to Staniſlaus, with the reverſion to the crown of France. Lorrain was not to be given up till its duke ſhould be in full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany: ſo that the ceſſion depended on many chances. This was reaping very little from ſuch great ſucceſs, and ſo many favourable circumſtances; of which the cardinal, being urged to make more advantages, demanded Lorrain on the ſame conditions as Barrois; and it was accordingly granted.

It coſt France only a ſmall ſum of money, and a

penſion of four million and five hundred thouſand livres to the duke, till Tuſcany fell to him.

Thus Lorrain became for ever annexed to the crown of France; a reunion which had been ſo often unſucceſsfully attempted. By this means, a Poliſh king was tranſplanted to Lorrain; which was the laſt time this province had a ſovereign to reſide there; and he rendered it happy. The reigning houſe of the princes of Lorrain got the ſovereignty of Tuſcany. The ſecond ſon of the king of Spain was transferred to Naples; ſo that the medal of Trajan might have been renewed; *regna aſſignata*, "kingdoms aſſigned."

The houſe of Bourbon, at the end of this ſhort war, was advanced to ſuch a pitch of grandeur as ſhe could not have expected even in the height of Lewis XIV's proſperity. Almoſt all the inheritance of Charles V. Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, and Peru, were now in her poſſeſſion. The houſe of Auſtria at laſt ended in the perſon of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his dominions was likely to be taken from his daughter, and divided amongſt ſeveral powers. France carried the election of an emperor with the ſame facility as the emperors had formerly choſen the electors of Cologn, and the biſhops of Liege. The famous pragmatic ſanction of the late Auſtrian emperor, who had thereby ſettled his whole dominions on his daughter; this ſanction, guaranteed by the Empire, England, Holland, and France herſelf, was at firſt ſupported by no one power. The elector of Bavaria, ſon of him who had been put under the ban of the Empire, was crowned, without oppoſition, duke of Auſtria at Lintz, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort,

by the arms of Lewis XV. They went even to the gates of Vienna. The daughter of ſo many emperors found herſelf, for a whole year, intirely deſtitute of aſſiſtance, and without any hope but what aroſe from her own intrepidity. Scarce were her father's eyes cloſed, when ſhe loſt Sileſia by an invaſion of the young king of Pruſſia, who will be long talked of by poſterity. He was the firſt who took advantage of this conjuncture, to promote his grandeur. For this purpoſe he made uſe of an army as well diſciplined as that of the antient Romans, which his father ſeemed to have formed only for parade and empty ſhew. France, Pruſſia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the houſe of Auſtria. Her allies beheld this in ſilence; and the diviſion of her dominions ſeemed now unavoidable. But it ſoon appeared evident, how difficult it is for ſuch a weak prince as the elector of Bavaria, emperor under the name of Charles VII. but without power, and a general without national troops, to conquer a kingdom by the power of another. Never were ſuch great advantages ſucceeded by ſo many misfortunes. What ſeemed likely to promote his grandeur, contributed to his ruin; and that extremity to which the queen of Hungary was reduced, ſerved to raiſe her ſtill higher. The houſe of Auſtria ſprung up again out of her aſhes. The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of Great Britain. Her cauſe was likewiſe ſoon after eſpouſed by the king of Sardinia, Holland, and even by Ruſſia, who ſent the laſt year of the war thirty-five thouſand men to her aſſiſtance. She made ſeparate treaties with Pruſſia and Saxony: but above all, her own intrepid ſpi-

rit ſupported her as much as any of her allies. Hungary, where her anceſtors had experienced a continued ſcene of civil wars, rebellions, and executions, proved to her a kingdom united, affectionate, and filled with zealous friends. The war was carried on in the heart of Germany, in Italy, Flanders, and even upon the frontiers of France, and on the Indian and American ſeas, almoſt in the ſame manner as that in 1701. Cardinal Fleury, now too far advanced in years to ſupport ſo heavy a burden, laviſhed away, with regret, the treaſures of France in this war, entered into againſt his inclination, and died, after having been a ſpectator of nothing but misfortunes ariſing from miſconduct. He never thought to have had occaſion for a marine: what remained of their navy had been intirely deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the provinces of France lay altogether expoſed. The emperor, whom France had made, was thrice driven from his dominions, and died one of the moſt unfortunate princes upon earth, in having been exalted to the higheſt pitch of human grandeur. The queen of Hungary taſted at once the pleaſure and glory of creating her Huſband emperor, and of reſtoring the imperial dignity to her family.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal Fleury in 1743. whom he greatly lamented, took the government intirely upon himſelf; and repaired the misfortunes which aroſe in the laſt years of Fleury's miniſtry. He was ſucceſsful every-where, except in Italy, where he had to oppoſe the king of Sardinia, whom the cardinal had alienated from France.

There was one remarkable thing in this war; which was, that there had never been ſeen ſo many

ſovereigns at the head of their armies. Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany, afterwards emperor, often headed the Auſtrian troops. Don Carlos king of Naples, ſon of Philip V. commanded his army at Veletri; and George II. king of Great Britain in perſon gained a battle near the Maine.

The king of Sardinia appeared every-where with his troops, and always with ſucceſs. The king of Pruſſia himſelf obtained five victories. Lewis XV. procured glory and ſuperiority to his nation at the battle of Fontenoy, and preſerved them in that at Laufeld. In ſhort, after having in perſon ſubdued all Flanders, and taken Maeſtricht, by marſhal Saxe; after his enemies were driven out of Provence by marſhal Belliſle; after having ſaved Genoa by marſhal Richelieu; after having ſettled the king of Naples on his throne; he made a peace as glorious as any of his campaigns: for, at the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, he ſhewed a moſt unparalleled and unexpected moderation; not even reſerving any thing to himſelf of what he had conquered by his arms. He had, however, the glory of protecting his allies; of reſtoring the Genoeſe to their rights; of eſtabliſhing the duke of Modena in his dominions, and of ſettling the infant Don Philip in Parma and Placentia, the inheritance of his mother. This was, indeed, a great acquiſition, thus to be the protector of all his allies. Reputation, amongſt powerful princes, is equal to conqueſts. After ſuch an happy peace, France was re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as at the peace of Utrecht, and became ſtill more flouriſhing.

The Chriſtian powers in Europe were now di-

vided into two grand parties, who became a check upon each other, and who both endeavoured to maintain that balance, the pretext of ſo many wars, and which was eſteemed the true baſis of a laſting peace. The ſtates of the empreſs queen of Hungary, part of Germany, Ruſſia, Great Britain, Holland, and Sardinia, compoſed the one; France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Pruſſia, and Sweden, formed the other. All theſe powers kept up ſtanding armies; and a laſting peace was now hoped for, from that dread which one half of Europe ſeemed to have of the other.

Lewis XIV. was the firſt who maintained ſuch numerous armies: and this obliged the other princes to do the ſame; ſo that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Chriſtian powers of Europe had about a million of men in arms: and it is to be hoped, that it will be long before there ſhall be any aggreſſor, as they have all armed to defend themſelves.

END of VOL. I.